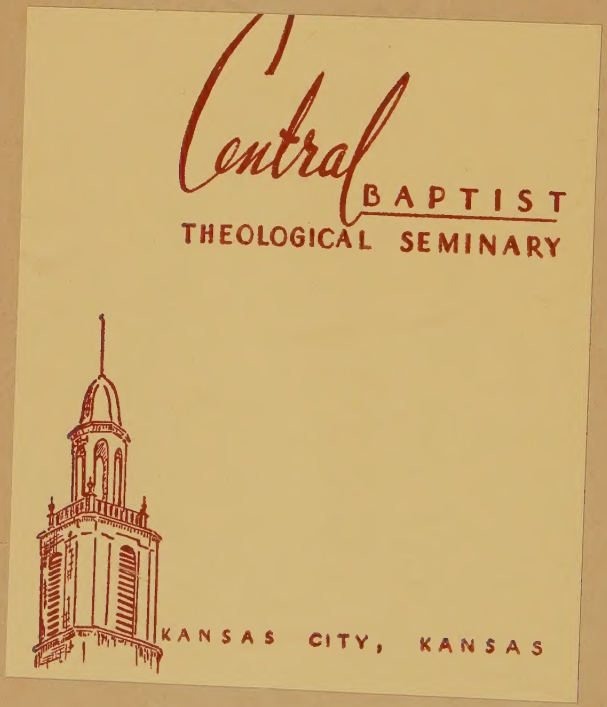
Library of
Central Baptist Theological Seminary

Classification Accession

Gift
Purchase
Date



Papers

of the

American Society of Church History

Second Series

Volume III.

Reports and Papers of the Fourth and Fifth Annual Meetings of the Reorganized Society Held in New York City Dec. 27, 1910 and Dec. 27, 1911, Respectively

Edited by

William Walker Rockwell

Secretary

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
The Knickerbocker Press
1912

Copyright, 1912
by
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

270.06
A512

CONTENTS

PAGE

CONSTITUTION v

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING } Report of the . . 1
THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING } Secretary. . 8

EARLY MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS 13
By Edward Payson Johnson

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HISTORIC PROOF AND THE PROOF OF MIRACLES 41
By Allen Dudley Severance

THE GROWTH OF THE LAYMAN'S POWER IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH 63
By Daniel Dulany Addison

THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, EDWARD TANJORE CORWIN, AT THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING: "THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF NEW YORK AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY" . . 79

THE MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED 117
By George Warren Richards

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARMINIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND . 151
By Francis Albert Christie

THE STIGMATA OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI . . . 173
By Henry Jacob Weber

LIST OF MEMBERS 191

DECEASED MEMBERS 201

27083

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

I.

This Society shall be called The American Society of Church History.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, who shall be elected by ballot at the annual meeting.

No President shall be elected to succeed himself.

These officers, the ex-Presidents and two other members to be elected annually, shall constitute the Council, of which three shall be the quorum.

The Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, the arrangement of programs, the determination of papers to be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The members shall be either active or sustaining. The annual fee for active members shall be Three Dollars; for sustaining members, Ten Dollars. On payment of One Hundred Dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VI.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all life-members, and to all other members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing Three Dollars annually.

VII.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Report of the Secretary

THE Society held the first and second sessions of its fourth annual and fifth public meeting in the Directors' Room of Union Theological Seminary at Broadway, 120th to 122d streets, Manhattan, New York City, on Tuesday, December 27, 1910. President Arthur Cushman McGiffert presided and there was a goodly company of members and visitors. The meeting was opened with prayer by the President and the programme of the day was as follows:

Edward Payson Johnson, professor of church history in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church at New Brunswick, New Jersey, read the first paper. His theme was the "Early Missionary Work among the North American Indians." The topic was discussed by Messrs. Ayer, Corwin, Good, Miller, and Rockwell.

The President made his address, in the form of an unwritten report upon the literature on church history produced in 1910, supplemented by a typewritten bibliography distributed to the members present.

The Society then adjourned for luncheon, which was taken in the Commons of Columbia University. The Council met in the President's study in his apartment in the Seminary buildings at 2.30 P.M., and on the re-assembling of the Society at 3 P.M. reported through former President Christie this ticket which on motion was unanimously elected and

the Chair declared that the persons named were duly constituted the officers and council for the ensuing year, namely: President, Edward Tanjore Corwin; Vice-President, Samuel Macauley Jackson; Assistant Secretary and Treasurer (these two offices having been combined), William Walker Rockwell; members of the Council, Joseph Cullen Ayer and John Alfred Faulkner. Samuel Macauley Jackson was re-elected secretary and asked to hold this office along with the treasurership for the year.

The Council also reported that it was considered desirable to perfect a scheme whereby each year the titles of the best books in the several divisions of church history might be presented by dividing the labor among members, each of whom would be responsible for a section.

The reading of papers being resumed, Allen Dudley Severance read his paper on "Beatification and Canonization, with Special Reference to Historic Proof and the Proof of Miracles."

Next came the paper by Daniel Dulany Addison on "The Development of the Layman's Power in the Protestant Episcopal Church."

These papers were discussed by Messrs. Ayer, Chorley, Corwin, Miller, and Washburn.

In the absence of its author the Secretary read George Lincoln Burr's paper on "A Newly Discovered Source of Information Respecting the Death and Burial of Luther."[1]

The Society dined together at the National Arts Club, 14 and 15 Gramercy Park, at 6.30 P.M. and there afterwards held its closing session.

The Secretary made his report as follows:

During the year our Society has passed a peaceful existence. On October 14th the Council met and were informed by the Secretary that the second volume of our Papers had been printed. He also brought up various queries

[1] "A New Fragment on Luther's Death, with other Gleanings from the Age of the Reformation," printed with additions and facsimiles in the *American Historical Review*, vol. xvi., July 1911, pp. 723–735.

which the Council solved. The upshot of the meeting was that it was thought best to issue the volume in bound form but not to provide it with an index. The Council elected six new members, and five of them have accepted membership, namely, Edward Clowes Chorley, rector of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, Garrison-on-Hudson, New York; Calvin Montague Clark, professor of church history in the Bangor Congregational Theological Seminary; Alexander Clarence Flick, professor of European history in Syracuse University; Theodore Frederick Herman, professor of systematic theology in the Reformed (German) Theological Seminary in Lancaster, Pa.; and Harold Harrison Tryon, instructor in church history in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. This brings up the present membership to sixty-one.

The second volume of our papers and proceedings is now ready for distribution. It will be accepted as creditable to the Society. We have now been in existence for five years, and if the teachers of church history will continue to support this Society and contribute original papers to its annual meetings there is no reason why we should fall below the level of our first two volumes.

We have missed two faces from our gathering to-day. I pay, in closing, my hearty tribute to their memory. By the kindness of their associates I am able to present in an authoritative fashion some facts about their lives. The first break of the year as far as I know was by the death of JOHN LEWIS EWELL in a hospital in Washington, D. C., on Wednesday, March 16th. He was born at Byfield, Mass., on September 4, 1840. So he was within six months of completing his seventieth year. His death was unexpected. I quote the sketch furnished by the Rev. Isaac Clark, D.D., dean of the School of Theology in Howard University, with which our friend was long connected: "Professor Ewell was graduated at Dummer Academy in 1858 and at Yale College in 1865. He served four months in the army in 1864 being in the

60th Massachusetts—a one hundred days' regiment. In the three following years he was a teacher in the High School of Nashville, Tenn., then in the Montgomery Bell Academy, then as professor of Latin in Washington University, St. Louis. He was graduated at Andover Theological Seminary in 1870; was pastor of Congregational churches in Clinton, Iowa, 1871–74; Waverley, Mass., 1874–78; Millbury, Mass. 1878–90. In January, 1891, he accepted the deanship of the theological department of Howard University, and became professor of church history and the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. In 1901 he resigned his deanship because of impaired health, but retained his professorship, and up to the time of his death gave himself to the teaching of his favorite studies with rare ability and sustained enthusiasm. His death was therefore a sore bereavement to his associates and a serious loss to the School of Theology of Howard University. We are thankful that for twenty years the School had the benefit of his ripe scholarship and of his devotion to duty and of the influence of his Christian character. It is our great regret that his long continued research, his large accumulation of materials, his systematic arrangement of the same did not quite reach their culmination in a published church history."

To Professor Clark's words I would add the following: Dr. Ewell was a member of the original Society of Church History. His name appears on the roll of Volume V. issued in 1893. In Volume VII. issued in 1895 he published an interesting sketch of "Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), a typical Massachusetts Puritan." He was one of the first to respond to the invitation to join the revived society and in our first volume, issued in 1908, he had a paper entitled "Basil and Jerome Compared." He was also a contributor to the Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and acted with the conservatives of that body. But in these days of specialism it is not possible to cover two such vast fields as church history and Biblical criticism and he

did wisely in pursuing the path of instruction rather than that of publication. We shall miss him from our meetings, for our Society had no warmer friend. His face was that of a sufferer but a good and kindly man looked out of those eyes.

On the night of Saturday, June 26th, PHILIP FRIEDRICH ADOLPH THEODOR SPAETH died suddenly from heart disease in his home 7300 Boyer Street, Germantown, Pa. Both he and Dr. Ewell were at our meeting last year, but both were pale and sickly looking. Still I believe both counted on being present with us in the flesh to-day. Our associate, Henry Eyster Jacobs, dean of the Theological Seminary in which Dr. Spaeth taught, has put materials for this sketch into my hands.

Professor Spaeth while entitled to use a formidable array of names in later years used only one and called himself simply Adolph Spaeth. He was born in Esslingen, which is seven miles by rail east-south-east from Stuttgart, Württemberg, on October 29, 1839. So he had rounded out the so-called allotted span of life and six months more. His student days were passed in Tübingen where he graduated in 1861. In that year he became an inmate of the household of the Duke of Argyll as private tutor. He made the acquaintance of the learned but eccentric John Duncan, or "Rabbi" Duncan, as he was popularly called, the nominal professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh but whose teaching was a farce while his power of uplift of the spiritual nature of his students was remarkable, and so he was retained while A. B. Davidson really taught the students Hebrew. Attracted first by the father young Spaeth soon found the daughter Maria Dorothea more attractive and married her on May 8, 1865. In 1864 Dr. Spaeth came to this country and became pastor of Zion's Lutheran Church, Philadelphia; in 1867 he removed to St. Johannes's Church in the same city. By his wife he had three sons and a daughter. After her death he married on October 12, 1880,

Harriet Reynolds, the daughter of the famous Charles Porterfield Krauth, vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania and professor of systematic theology in the Lutheran Seminary at Mount Airy, Philadelphia. She bore him two sons and a daughter. All these children are now living.

Professor Spaeth made but one ministerial change. In 1873 he became professor in the theological seminary in Philadelphia, organized by the General Council Lutherans and so remained till his death. His chair was Biblical interpretation and homiletics, but he retained his pastorate of St. Johannes's Church. Thus combining scholastic with practical work he presented a solid character. His range of knowledge was wide and his power to instruct was great. He was also eloquent and so sought after as a public orator. He was greatly respected by all and honored by his brethren. He received the honorary degree of doctor of divinity from the University of Pennsylvania in 1875 and doctor of laws from Muhlenberg College in 1895. He wrote much but mostly as a contributor to reviews, newspapers, and encyclopedias. He also edited several volumes and composed a number of hymns. His two chief services as author were his part in the Lutheran commentary and particularly his biography of his father-in-law, Professor Charles Porterfield Krauth, upon which he was engaged for some twenty-five years. But just before his death he was made very happy by his discovery in a volume in the Seminary library of a notice of Luther's death written by an eye-witness. This was really an important find and he revealed it in a very delightful and modest manner.

Professor Spaeth was a very handsome man and we were all impressed with his patriarchal appearance and bearing as he came to our meetings. He belonged to the old Society and was one of the most valued of the acquisitions of the new. But his earthly career is run. Peace to his ashes!

Just in the closing months of this year I learned that another of our members had died. I endeavored to gain

information about him but have not yet gotten the data I seek. So I can only record the fact of death. The name of our departed brother was JAMES WILLIAM ROGERS, pastor of the Disciple Church, Walton, Kentucky.

After this report there came a delightful hour as the members sat around the table and in order talked of their studies the past year and their plans for the year to come. Then with a cordial vote of thanks to Union Theological Seminary for its hospitality the meeting closed.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,
Secretary.

The following members registered their names as attendants at the meeting: Miller, Christie, Corwin, Ayer, Washburn, Carter, Good, McGiffert, Addison, E. P. Johnson, Chorley, Horr, Faulkner, Rockwell, Jackson. Present but not registered: Severance, Weber.

THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

Report of the Secretary

THE Society held its fifth annual and sixth public meeting in New York City on Wednesday, December 27, 1911. The morning and afternoon sessions took place in the Directors' Room of the Union Theological Seminary, the evening session at the National Arts Club.

MORNING SESSION

Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Hulbert, E. P. Johnson, McGiffert, Richards, Rockwell, Severance, Williston Walker, Weber, and five guests, including Professor Curtis H. Walker later elected to membership.

At 10.15 A.M. President Corwin called the meeting to order. After prayer by John Alfred Faulkner the President read a letter from the Secretary and Treasurer, Samuel Macauley Jackson, regretting that owing to illness he was unable to attend the meeting of the Society, the first which he has missed since its formation in 1888. On motion of Williston Walker it was unanimously voted to send a message of sympathy and good wishes to him.

John Alfred Faulkner was elected Secretary *pro tem.*, pending the arrival of the Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, who was unavoidably detained.

The following Nominating Committee was elected—

Arthur Cushman McGiffert, John Albert Faulkner, and James Isaac Good.

The Presidential address was then delivered by Edward Tanjore Corwin on "The Ecclesiastical Condition of New York at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century." Discussion followed.

The second paper was by George Warren Richards on "The Mercersburg Theology Historically Considered."

After discussion of this paper, the Assistant Secretary William Walker Rockwell read a letter from George Norcross regretting his inability to be present and to read a paper at the afternoon session. Thereupon it was resolved to postpone Francis Albert Christie's paper until the afternoon and to hold the Council meeting from twelve-thirty to one.

At one o'clock the Society lunched together at the Columbia Commons as the guests of Samuel Macauley Jackson.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Hulbert, Jacobs, E. P. Johnson, McGiffert, Richards, Rockwell, Severance, Tryon, Williston Walker, Weber, also three guests.

At 2.30 Francis Albert Christie read on "The Beginning of Arminianism in New England."

After a lively discussion of the paper, Henry Woodward Hulbert presented a discussion of "Church Unity in the English-speaking World." He regretted that he had been unable to treat the precise theme announced, "Presbyterian Ordination in the English Church during the First Two Generations Following the First Book of Common Prayer" (1549) and desired to withhold the essay from publication until he might treat the larger theme. Animated discussion followed.

The final paper of the afternoon was by Henry Jacob Weber on "The Stigmata of Francis of Assisi," which aroused much interest.

At its first public meeting in 1906 the Society adopted a resolution requesting the State Historian to have an index made of the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York (see *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, Second Series, Volume I., p. viii.). To that end a State appropriation of $1500 was made; but as the next State Historian, the Honorable Victor Paltsits, took no active steps in the matter, the appropriation lapsed. Therefore the following resolution was unanimously adopted and the Secretary was instructed to forward a copy to the present State Historian:

"The American Society of Church History, having learned that the matter of indexing the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York is again under consideration by the present State Historian, the Hon. James A. Holden, desire to express their interest in the matter, and earnestly hope that an index may be authorized by the present session of the Legislature, and that the compiler of that work, the Reverend Dr. Edward Tanjore Corwin, be requested to make it."

The meeting then adjourned.

EVENING SESSION

Present: Messrs. Ayer, Christie, Corwin, Faulkner, Good, Jacobs, E. P. Johnson, Rockwell, Severance, Tryon, Williston Walker.

The members of the Society dined at the National Arts Club at 6.30 P.M. as guests of Samuel Macauley Jackson. President Corwin presided. Grace was said by Henry Eyster Jacobs.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Samuel Macauley Jackson.

Vice-President: Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr.

Treasurer and Secretary: William Walker Rockwell.

Other Members of the Council:—

Former Presidents: Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs,

Francis Albert Christie, Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Edward Tanjore Corwin;

Elected Members: John Alfred Faulkner, James Isaac Good.

On behalf of the Council, the Assistant Secretary announced that the following gentlemen had been chosen members of the Society: Professor Arthur W. Jenks of the General Theological Seminary, Professor Curtis H. Walker of the University of Chicago, Professor J. Howard Robinson of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, and Mr. Charles Harold Lyttle, Williams Fellow at the Harvard Divinity School.

The minutes of the meeting of 1910 were read and approved. Professor McGiffert was appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer when they are drawn up. The credit balance of the Society in the Bank of the Metropolis on December 23d was $174.63.

There ensued discussion as to the policy of the Society. It was voted to continue the publication of the *Papers* and it was ordered that the Secretary prepare and send out a descriptive leaflet designed to increase their circulation. It was resolved to endeavor to enlist the co-operation of libraries, who may receive the Papers on payment of dues without formal election to membership. The Secretary was also authorized to send copies of the forthcoming volume to selected theological journals for review.

The Secretary was further authorized to write a letter in support of the Source Book for Church History, covering the period to 700 A.D., which was prepared by Professor Ayer at the suggestion of the Society.

Thanks for hospitality were voted to Samuel Macauley Jackson, and also to the Union Theological Seminary.

When the business was over the members in turn reported informally on their work during the previous year. At 9.06 the meeting adjourned.

Wm. Walker Rockwell,
Secretary.

Early Missionary Work among the North American Indians

By

Edward Payson Johnson

EARLY MISSIONARY WORK AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

By Edward Payson Johnson, Professor of Church History and Church Government, in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary

(*Read December 27, 1910*)

A STUDY of early missionary work among the North American Indians—unless over-long for such an occasion as this—must be of limited scope. One may not, even in the most hurried way, notice the labors of the heroic Jesuit Fathers in Canada or New York, whose self-sacrificing devotion deserved a larger success; nor may the study safely extend beyond the close of the seventeenth century.

Nevertheless this first period of Protestant American missionary endeavor is the most important and most interesting period of all.

The Christian student wishes to learn how the early settlers, English and Dutch, regarded the Indians whom their coming found in possession of the land, as well as to learn what purpose and responsibility they acknowledged for the improvement of the Indians. What did the White Man's advent mean for the Red Man? Advantage and a higher, happier life, or calamity and destruction?

There are people who take for a plain statement of truth that sorry gibe: "When they landed here, first the Pilgrims

fell upon their knees; and then upon the aborigines." Such persons think of the Pilgrims as hard, harsh men, sombre and intolerant, fanatical, greedy, and cruel,—worthy representatives of the iron-clad religious system they had embraced. But, notwithstanding their harsh discipline in the home land, and their multiplied dangers and bitter privations, these first settlers of New England were not cold-hearted and cruel bigots. They endured labors and sufferings which would have disheartened any people but those of the most sturdy and sanguine soul. They made their first acquaintance with the New World during a rigorous winter which cost them the loss of nearly half their number. One chief reason for leaving their refuge in Holland had been to bring to the blind heathen of America the light and life of the Holy Gospel of Christ; but for three months' time, while they were in imminent danger of death by cold, hunger, and sickness, the Indians kept aloof; this was because they were both suspicious and jealous of the new-comers; they remembered former experiences of slaughter and kidnapping at the hands of white men; and they warily watched for an opportunity for retaliation and revenge. Then, one day came the friendly visit of Samoset, whose "Welcome, Englishmen!" made their hearts leap for joy; and afterward various conferences and a treaty of peace and amity with the good King Massasoit; and so the long midnight season of dread, disease, and distress passed away. Even then, however, for long time it was a grave problem as to the endurance of the Colony; the Indians themselves were improvident, and could not bring in anything but the poorest of food supplies, and in small quantities. Heavy were their hearts and weak their faith very often during those first years at Plymouth.

So long as the Indians were unfriendly and suspicious, and the continued existence of the Colony uncertain, aggressive missionary work was necessarily delayed; and yet they were not forgetful of their spiritual obligations to the degraded Indians, or of the benevolent plans they had cherished for

the Red Man's Christianizing and civilizing. And further: the Pilgrims themselves were but scantily supplied with well-qualified ministers, and could do little more for the Indians than try to win their confidence and friendship, by dealing with them in all honesty, justice, and brotherly kindness.

In 1628, and the succeeding years, the Puritans came to Massachusetts Bay. Their numbers were larger, their worldly circumstances more favorable, their spirits higher, and their outlook brighter. For eight years the Plymouth Pilgrims had been exploring and cultivating the wilderness, and placating the Indians; so the Massachusetts Bay people only had to settle down a few miles away, build their cottages, clear away the forest, plant their gardens, seed their fields, and apply themselves to earn and retain the friendship of the surrounding Indians. Plymouth had simplified things in the New World for Massachusetts Bay.

February 9, 1630, from the good ship *Lyon*, just arrived in Boston harbor, there came ashore a young man of twenty-seven years who was destined to take an important part in the affairs of the Colony. His name was ROGER WILLIAMS. Within a few months' time he had become quite unpopular because of his sharp criticism of the policies, the magistrates, and the ministers of the Colony. He was of unusual amiability, gentleness, and patience, and yet surpassingly fond of controversy; he was of a rarely intolerant spirit, and yet a most eloquent advocate of tolerance; disputatious to the verge of contentiousness, and yet never quarrelsome, but mild, and lovable; he was of the broadest charity, and yet upon slight occasion capable of withdrawing from communion with fellow-Christians in the Colony, and in his own parish church in Salem, once at least declining to commune with his own wife; sorely annoying to the patience of his best friends until for the sake of peace they finally banished him outright in 1636,—and yet holding their sincere and

loving regard to the end of his life; provokingly polemical, and yet unconquerably kind and self-sacrificing; whimsically variable, and yet inexhaustibly industrious and persevering; he was one of the most exasperating, fascinating, troublesome, yet gloriously devoted Christians that ever lived in New England. He was the first Englishman, if not the first of Protestant faith, to devote himself perseveringly to the welfare of the degraded Indians. "God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit," he wrote years after, "to lodge with them in their filthy smoke holes (even while I lived in Plymouth and Salem), to gain their tongue. . . . My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their tongue." Although having taken holy orders in the Church of England two years before leaving England, when he received a unanimous call to the First Church of Boston,—"I conscientiously refused," he says, "and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be." "At Plymouth," he wrote, "I spoke on the Lord's days and week days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread, (and so afterward at Salem), until I found them both professing to be a separated people in New England, (not admitting the most godly to communion without a covenant), and yet communicating with the parishes of Old (England) by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither."[1] At Plymouth, and afterward at Salem, he gave much time to visiting various villages and tribes of Indians, winning their friendship and confidence, learning their ways and their language, that he might the more effectually win their attention to the truths of Christianity. It may seem strange that he never devoted himself wholly to missionary work among the Indians, even when his work among his countrymen was ended by exile, never established churches among them, nor any permanent work of any kind. But he was from first to last so truly the brother of

[1] Carpenter's *Roger Williams*, pp. 28, 42.

the Red Man that Indian faith and affection were always and implicitly his.

When banished from his Salem home, he made his way with a few friends to a permanent home among the Narragansetts, on the site of the present city of Providence, R. I. He thereafter devoted himself especially to trade with the Indians; and his business life corresponded so well with his teachings and professions, that he never lost the confidence of the Indian Kings Canonicus and Miantonimoh; and in the councils of the tribe his influence was supreme when the hostile Pequots tried to persuade the Narragansetts to engage in a war of extermination against the whites. He felt that Massachusetts Bay people had treated him unkindly; and yet he remained their alert and steadfast friend, and held the Narragansetts steadily to friendship and alliance with them. In 1643 appeared Williams's most scholarly work, *The Key into the Languages of America*, published in London; "it attracted instant attention from philologists and other scholars," . . . and "won for him a place as a man of letters.[1]"

How useful this word and phrase book of the Indian languages may have proved to John Eliot and other devoted missionary workers among the Indians, we do not know; but we may at least be sure that the kindly, faithful, consecrated ministrations and visitations of this truly godly man, Roger Williams, prepared for later Christian workers a way to the homes and the hearts of the natives.

The first missionary to the Indians of New England whose life was entirely given to this work was THOMAS MAYHEW, JR. With his father of the same name, he was living at Watertown, Mass., in 1636. Five years later, having obtained from the agent of Lord Stirling a grant of Martha's Vineyard, and the neighboring islands, the Mayhews, father and son, began a settlement at Edgartown. The father became the "civil governor" of the region; and the son was so

[1] Carpenter's *Roger Williams*, p. 178.

deeply affected by the intellectual and moral degradation of the surrounding Indians, that he began the study of their language, and the work of teaching the gospel to them. Hiacoomes, one of them, soon became a convert and learned to read, and immediately began to make strong appeals to his brethren against their idolatry and superstitions, and to make known to them the truths of the gospel. This was in 1645. Young Mayhew, having obtained their affection and confidence, and learned their language, in the year 1646 commenced preaching and public instruction. He had visited the natives in their abodes, slept in their smoky wigwams, spent much of the nights in teaching them Scripture history, and before the close of the year 1650, a hundred Indians entered into solemn covenant to obey the Most High God, imploring His mercy through the blood of Christ. Two years later there were two hundred and eighty-two of the heathen who had embraced Christianity, of whom eight were medicine men or priests. Mr. Mayhew's success encouraged him to make still greater efforts for their good, and he sailed for England, in order to obtain the means of greater usefulness; but the ship in which he sailed foundered at sea, and he and all on board perished. His age was thirty-seven. Cotton Mather says that he was so affectionately esteemed by the Indians that, many years after, he was seldom named without tears. He wrote in connection with John Eliot *Tears of Repentance; or a Further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England.* His excellent father, THOMAS MAYHEW, SR., who had already rendered his son much assistance in benevolent work, now entered largely into his son's labors. Having no prospect, after his son's death, of procuring for them a stated minister, he began himself, at the age of seventy, to preach to the natives, as well as the English. Such was his philanthropic zeal that he sometimes travelled on foot through the woods nearly twenty miles, to perform these labors of love. He was instrumental in bringing the Indians of Gay Head to receive the gos-

pel, though they had resisted all previous efforts to evangelize them. When King Philip's War began in 1675, the English on Martha's Vineyard were not more than one-twentieth of the number of the Indians, and were of course entirely at their mercy; but through the influence of Christianity, the natives were entirely harmless and peaceable, insomuch that the Governor actually employed some of his converts as a guard. He died, with his zeal to promote the gospel unabated, in 1681, in the ninety-third year of his age. Hiacoomes seems to have been the best Indian preacher of whom we have any account. Beginning to teach his "copper-colored brethren" in 1645, he met with great opposition and abuse from the medicine men. He greatly lamented the loss of young Mayhew, by whom he had been enlightened in the knowledge of the truth, and whose instructions gave him the power of instructing others. He died in 1690, aged eighty years. He was a faithful and successful minister, slow of speech, grave of manner, of blameless life, and sound in doctrine.

John Mayhew, son of Thomas, Jr., was called to the ministry by the English on the Island in 1673, at the age of twenty-one; and having a perfect understanding of the Indian language, began at the same time to preach to the Indians. He taught alternately in all their assemblies, and assisted them in all their ecclesiastical concerns. He died in the sixteenth year of his ministry, leaving an Indian Church of one hundred communicants, and several well-instructed teachers in the different congregations. His eldest son, Experience Mayhew (born on Martha's Vineyard in 1673) in March, 1694, about five years after the death of his father, began to preach to the Indians, taking the charge of five or six congregations. In 1720 he received the degree of A.M. from Harvard College. As he had a thorough knowledge of the Indian language, having been familiar with it from infancy, he was employed by the Commissioners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New

England to make a new version of the Psalms, and of the Gospel of John; which work he executed with great accuracy, completing it in 1709. He died in 1758, aged eighty-five years. And there is yet another of this devoted family of missionaries,—the youngest son of Experience, ZECHARIAH MAYHEW ordained at Martha's Vineyard in 1767, who devoted his life to the instruction of the remnants of the red men, and died March 6, 1806, aged eighty-nine years.[1] A marvellous record this! Five generations of Christian workers son, father, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson; covering a period of more than one hundred and sixty years, in the same region, from 1643 to 1806—surely this is a true Apostolic Succession, devoted to a truly apostolic work, in the nobly apostolic spirit; this record radiantly ennobles the Vineyard and Nantucket Indians, as well as the honored name of Mayhew, for all the Christian centuries!

RICHARD BOURNE and his friend THOMAS TUPPER were first purchasers and early emigrants of the Sandwich lands in 1637. They were gentlemen of wealth and earnest Puritans; and they forthwith took an interest in the conversion of the natives, who were very numerous in that region; the pestilence which swept away the Plymouth Indians not having reached that place. It would seem that they lost no time in learning the language, and entering upon the work; "though not educated for the ministry, they turned their attention to gospelizing the Indians."[2] After laboring a few years more privately, they both conducted public worship on the Lord's day, in the native congregations. Mr. Tupper's attention was toward the northward and westward of Sandwich, where he founded a Church near Herring River, which was supplied by a succession of ministers of his name; the last pastor, his great-grandson, died in 1787. Mr. Bourne was a man of great energy of character,

[1] Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i., 131–3; *Mass. Hist. Collections*, i., 205.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Collections*, iii., 188, 189.

and a Christian philanthropist. We find him in 1658 purchasing land for a permanent location of a town for the "South Sea Indians," as the natives were then called; and finally, in 1660, fixing upon Mashpee, and securing the lands there to them and their descendants forever. Mr. Bourne believed it vain to propagate Christian knowledge among any people without a territory where they might remain in peace from generation to generation, and not be dispossessed. The deed was confirmed by the Colony Court "so that no part or parcel of the lands could be bought by or sold to any white person or persons without the consent of all the Indians, not even with the consent of the General Court." Mr. Bourne afterward writes that the tract is five miles in width and ten miles long; that he lives upon the plantation, and that the Indians in the villages which he visits number about five hundred, and that he has four assistants employed steadily, and four other occasional helpers. It is not generally known that the benevolent plans and labors of Bourne are still bearing fruit more than two hundred and fifty years after he devoted his life to the Christianizing of Mashpees. A remnant of the tribe, of nearly four hundred souls, still occupies and owns the beautiful domain—embracing sixteen square miles, about 10,500 acres on Vineyard Sound—secured to them by the wisdom, consecration, and fearlessness of Richard Bourne, his son, grandson, and later successors in the spiritual guardianship of these natives.[1] Greedy and unprincipled white men, drunken and thievish negroes, and many others, fit emissaries of evil, again and again have tried to thwart the growth of Christianity by settlement on the reservation, and intermarriage, as well as by overt acts of imposition, and illicit sale of liquor, all to the great distress of the best of the Indians and their spiritual guides; but the multiplied endeavors of the enemies and annoyers of the Mashpees' devoted friends but very poorly prospered. These Indians, although there are now compar-

[1] *Mass. Hist. Collections*, iii., 190, and i., 199.

atively few residents of unmixed Indian blood, are happy and prosperous in their beautiful reservation; and as their missionary pastor reports "fully up to the average of white communities in piety and morals." It may seem strange to the traveller to-day to find fifty miles southeast of Boston "an Indian township, owned and officered by Indians; its schools and churches supported by Indians, and its public affairs conducted by them." A generous bequest by a London Minister in 1711, in trust to Harvard College, during two hundred years has yielded annually some $350 for the support of Gospel work among the Mashpees.[1]

Twenty-four years after the settlement of Plymouth some of the Colonists, as Morton in his *Memorial* quaintly says, "by reason of some straits that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place, for their better accommodation; and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the Indians, Nauset; which place being purchased by them of the Indians, divers of the considerablest of the Church and town removed thither, and erected a town, which is now called by the name of Eastham." These first settlers, one of whom was Governor Prince, were but seven families; and though their removal was much regretted by the Church, it became the means of securing the friendship and improvement of the numerous Indians of the vicinity, so that they took no part in the subsequent wars against the English.[2] Twenty-eight years after Rev. SAMUEL TREAT, the son of Governor Treat of Connecticut, settled in Eastham. His field of pastoral labor was the entire stretch of Cape Cod from Yarmouth to Provincetown. Soon after his settlement, he commenced the study of the native language, and at no distant period he had so far mastered it, that he was able to teach and preach to them intelligibly; and he is said to have gained a knowledge fully equal to that of Eliot himself. He gradu-

[1] C. B. Todd, *In Olde Massachusetts*, (1907), 164–172.
[2] Morton's *Memorial*, 151.

ally acquired great influence over the Indians, and was instrumental, not only of reducing them to a state of order and civilization, but of bringing many of them to a practical knowledge of Christianity. In 1693, writing to President Mather of Harvard College he says: "There are five hundred Indians within the limits of our township, unto whom these many years past I have, from time to time, imparted the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, in their own tongue, and truly hope not without success. . . . I do verily not know, nor can I learn, that there is so much as one of these Indians that does obstinately absent from, but they do jointly frequent and attend upon, seasons of preaching of the word, and countenance the same, not only on Lord's Day, but upon public thanksgivings and fast-days. They have four distinct assemblies, in four villages, belonging to our township, in which they have four teachers of their own choice, of the sober, well-affected, and understanding persons among them, who duly preach to them when I am not with them. These Indian teachers repair to my house once a week, to be further instructed in the concernments proper for their service and station. . . . Many of the Indians are of a serious, civil, sober conversation and deportment, who are making essays towards a further progressive step of obedience, and conformity to the rules of the gospel, having a great desire to be baptized. They are very serviceable by their labor to the English vicinity; and have all along, since the wars with their nation, been very friendly to the English, and forward to serve them in that quarrel; their deportment, converse, and garb being more manly and laudable than any other Indians that I have observed in the province." Every month Mr. Treat visited and preached in their villages. At other times the Indian teachers read to their congregations the sermons he had written for them. He treated them with great affability and kindness, frequently visited them in their wigwams, and with cheerfulness joined in their festivals. They venerated him as a pastor and

loved him as a father.[1] He labored among them with great zeal and fidelity for forty-five years; but before his death in 1717, he was saddened by a great lessening of his Indian parishioners; a fatal disease, supposed to have been a fever, swept off a large number of them; and twenty-five years after Treat's death very few Indians remained in the township. He was one who "knowing the terrors of the Lord, persuaded men." It is said that his voice was so loud, when speaking, it could be heard at a great distance from the meeting-house, even "amidst the shrieks of hysterical women and the winds that howled over the plains of Nauset; but there was no more music in it than in the discordant sounds with which it was mingled." His harsh, roaring voice and rough ways may have commanded the admiration of the untutored savages, but they were highly displeasing to strangers. His wife was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Willard, pastor of the South Church, Boston, and President of Harvard College, and a preacher of very graceful delivery and pleasing voice. One day, when Mr. Treat preached for his father-in-law, in his usually unhappy manner, he excited universal disgust among the fastidious Bostonians; so much so that several persons begged of Dr. Willard that his son-in-law, "a truly good, pious man of course, but a wretched preacher, might never be invited into his pulpit again." To this Dr. Willard made no reply; but he asked Mr. Treat to lend him that sermon; and a few weeks after without any alteration preached it to his people. The hearers were charmed; they flew to Dr. Willard, and asked a copy for publication. "See the difference," they said, "between yourself and your son-in-law! You have preached a sermon from the same text as Mr. Treat; but while his was contemptible, yours was excellent." The death of Mr. Treat took place after the most remarkable snow-storm in the annals of New England. Because of the tremendous depth of the snow a path could not be dug

[1] Morton's *Memorial*, 388, 389.

from the house; and his body was kept several days until a tunnel could be dug,—through which he was borne to the grave by affectionate, and deeply grieving Indians.[1]

JOHN ELIOT[2] (worthily called the Apostle to the Indians) was born at Nasing, Essex, England, in 1604. Educated at the University of Cambridge, he was distinguished for his love for the languages, and his uncommon attainments in Greek and Latin. From a certain little book of his written during his Roxbury ministry, I transcribe the following lines: "Oh, that the Lord would put it into the heart of some of His religious and learned servants, to take such pains about the *Hebrew* language as to fit it for universal use! Considering, that above all languages spoken by the lip of man it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all things, and motions, and notions, that our human intellect is capable of in this mortal life,—considering also that it is the invention of God Himself; and what one is fitter to be the universal language, than that which pleased our Lord Jesus to make use of, when He spake from Heaven unto Paul!"[3] Through the influence of the Rev. Thomas Hooker (in whose school he was employed after Hooker was silenced for his non-conformity), Eliot was led to devote himself to the Christian ministry; but, being a non-conformist like Hooker, like him he decided to remove to America. The good ship *Lyon* brought him to Boston in November, 1631; and at once he was employed to supply the Church in Boston, whose pastor, Rev. John Wilson was absent in England for several months. On Wilson's return Eliot was invited to become his colleague; but having pledged himself to certain friends in England to be their pastor if they came to Boston, he felt constrained to keep faith with

[1] Sprague's *Annals*, i., 185, 186.

[2] For a more extended discussion of Eliot's work, see Ezra Hoyt Byington, *John Eliot, the Puritan Missionary to the Indians*, in *Papers of the American Society of Church History* [first series], vol. viii., New York, 1897, pp. 111–145. —ED.

[3] Mather's *Magnalia*, Hartford, 1820, i., 494.

them; and accordingly, the year later upon their arrival, a new Church was organized in Roxbury, whose pastor Eliot remained for nearly sixty years, and until his death. Beloved and revered as Eliot was by all who knew him, he was chiefly prominent among all the ministers of New England because of his remarkable zeal and success as missionary to the Indians.

Early in his Roxbury life his attention was drawn to his heathen neighbors; and he was irresistibly constrained to try to enlighten and save them. When he first entered this dark and unpromising field of labor, there were nearly twenty tribes of Indians, within the English plantations, though they strikingly resembled each other in language, manners, and religion. The famous Dr. Cotton Mather, who knew and loved Eliot well, says: "I cannot find that any besides the Holy Spirit of God first moved him to the blessed work of evangelizing these perishing Indians; it was that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the idea of that which was on the seal of the Massachusetts Colony; a poor Indian having a label going out of his mouth, with a *come over and help us!* It was the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ which enkindled in him a pity for the dark souls of these natives. . . . All the good men of the country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking; the ministers specially encouraged him, and those in the neighborhood kindly supplied his place, and performed his work for him in Roxbury, while he was abroad laboring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those expressions in the Royal Charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this wilderness was first peopled; namely, 'To win and incite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, in our royal intention, and the adventurers' free profession, is the principal end of the plantation.'" . . . And further: "I confess there was one, I cannot call it so much guess as wish, wherein he was willing a little to indulge him-

self; and that was, that our Indians are the posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised, that they shall yet be saved by the deliverer coming to turn away ungodliness from them."[1]

Mather calls these Indians "the veriest ruins of mankind, which are to be found anywhere upon the face of the earth." Eliot hired a native to teach him the language; and with laborious care and skill reduced it into a grammar, which afterward he published. This language Eliot—the anagram of whose name was *toile*—soon became a master of; he employed a witty Indian who also spoke English well, for his assistance in it; and compiling some discourses by his help, he would single out a word, a noun, a verb, and pursue it through all its variations; having finished his grammar, at the close he writes, "Prayer and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything!" and being by his prayer and pains thus furnished, he set himself in the year 1646, to preach the gospel among these desolate outcasts.[2]

His first appeal was to an Indian assembly at Nonantum, in the present town of Newton, on the 28th of October. After a short prayer he explained the commandments, described the character and sufferings of the Saviour, the judgment day and its consequences, and exhorted them to receive Christ as *their* Saviour, and to pray to God. Shortly after he preached to them again, and some of them were affected to tears while he was addressing them. Soon he was violently opposed by the sachems and medicine-men, who were apprehensive that the introduction of a new religion would be the means of losing their authority. When he was alone with them in the wilderness, they commanded him to desist from his labors on peril of his life; but he said calmly to them in reply: "I am about the work of the Great God, and my God is with me; so that I neither fear you nor all the sachems in the country; I will go on—do you touch me, if you dare!" His zeal prompted him to en-

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, i., 503, 506.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., 507.

counter fearlessly the most appalling dangers, and to submit patiently to the most incredible hardships. In one of his letters he writes thus: "I have not been dry, night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the sixth; but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, and wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the word of God, 2 Timothy 2, 3: 'Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'"[1] He made a missionary tour every fortnight; and at different periods, visited all the tribes in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, pursuing his way as far as Cape Cod.

These arduous and self-denying labors were not in vain. In 1651, the first Protestant Indian Church in America was organized by Mr. Eliot at Natick, after the manner of the Congregational churches in New England; and about the same time a house of worship was erected, and a form of government established. Other Indian churches were established in various parts of Massachusetts; and he frequently visited them; though he regarded the church at Natick as more particularly under his pastoral care. His efforts to promote both the temporal and spiritual welfare of the Indians were never intermitted; he enlisted several other ministers to co-operate with him, whose labors were greatly blessed; and he lived to see twenty-four of the natives engaged in preaching the Gospel. In September, 1661, he was enabled to publish the New Testament in the Indian language, and three years after, the Old Testament was added; and so the whole Bible, with a catechism and the Psalms of David in metre, was given to the Aborigines in their own tongue, within forty years after the first settlement of the country. The publication of the Bible was followed with that of Primers, Grammars, Psalters, Catechisms, *The Practice of Piety*, Baxter's *Call*, and Shepard's *Sincere Convert and Sound Believer*,—all in the Indian tongue, and translated by Mr. Eliot. He manifested

[1] Sprague's *Annals*, i., 20.

his friendship for the Indians by the most vigorous efforts for their protection during Philip's War in 1675. . . . Though he was subjected to great reproach, and even bitter hostility, for his friendly services in their behalf, yet nothing could quench either his charity or his zeal. This cruel war proved adverse to the success of after missionary efforts; but so long as the old "Apostle" lived, he never ceased to regard his Indian converts with paternal solicitude.[1]

As one reads Dr. Cotton Mather's *Sketch of John Eliot*, he may incline to think that the voluble and pedantic divine very often indulges in the language of immoderate panegyric; but after a careful noting of the *facts* he records of Eliot, vividly picturing the good man's incessant industry, his pathetically ascetic physical habits, yet invariable and invincible good humor, generosity and graciousness, unfailing spirituality and joyous, yet humble walk with God, any one can scarce avoid bowing apology for the earlier thought concerning the affectionate word-painter, and saying, with Richard Baxter of England, "Dr. Mather, 'I love you for the excellent temper in your writings; you have honored yourself half as much as Mr. Eliot'; it is impossible for one who *knew* him as *you* knew to *over-praise* him!"[2]

We have cause for deep gratitude to God for giving to Englishmen and Indians a half-century of such perfectly blended missionary and pastoral fidelity. One cannot confidently say, which is the greater marvel,—that Eliot did not *sooner wear himself out* with such herculean and unceasing labors; or that, when utterly unfit for former toils, thousands of his beloved Indian friends swept away by the flood of war, or the white man's suspicious and revengeful intolerance, he still kept the same uncomplaining, sunny spirit, so uncommon in weak, broken, and disappointed old men. When incapable of further preaching, mission-visiting, or expounding, he wished to gather round him the neglected negro children of the neighborhood; and still later, he

[1] Sprague's *Annals*, i., 21.

[2] Mather's *Magnalia*, i., 532.

planned to bring into his house a poor, crippled blind boy, that he might help him to some little vision and comfort.

How true of this noble Apostle and Saint were his own pathetic words, just before his translation! "Alas! I have lost everything; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but, I thank God my *charity* holds out still."[1]

It is gratifying to one's pride of Puritan descent to find that these men whose labors we have thus rapidly sketched were neither peculiar nor offensive to their contemporaries because of their zeal for the saving of the Indians. An original design of the Plymouth Colonist to "advance the Gospel of Jesus Christ in those remote parts of the world" we have already noted; also the earnest purpose of King Charles I., in the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter, "to winne and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of mankind."[2] But by examination we find something in the Christian purpose of that period more definite and systematic, permanent, and general. In 1649, Governor Winslow of Plymouth was in England, as agent of the Colonies in their concerns with the mother country, and perceiving that a door was opening for successful labor among the Indians in the Colonies, he "requested that some persons of known piety and integrity might be constituted a corporation to receive and improve the free contributions which might be made for the encouraging of the propagating of the Gospel among them." A tract was circulated (sent from New England) with the title of "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England." Mr. Pelham assisted Governor Winslow in forwarding the collections, and in July, 1649, Parliament passed an act or ordinance for the advancement of this good work. . . . The preamble to the act recites the "certain intelligence received" in respect to labors by "ministers and others,"

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, i., 490. [2] Hutchinson's *Colony*, p. 19.

and that fit instruments should be encouraged in propagating the Gospel to "these poor heathen"; and then enacts that Governor Winslow and fifteen others (then in England) "shall be a corporation for furthering so good a work, and that a general collection be made for the work through all England and Wales; that the ministers read the act to their people, and stir them up to liberal contributions. . . ." Perhaps no fund of this nature has ever been more faithfully applied for the purposes for which it was raised. There was considerable opposition to the collections,—surely it would have been marvellous had there not been!—"but subscriptions were opened in London and in the army, by the promotion of Governor Winslow and Mr. Pelham, and an amount collected which gave a yearly income of seven to eight hundred pounds sterling." The appropriations by the Commissioners were for printing books in the Indian language, sustaining preachers and teachers, and the education of Indian youth for the ministry. In 1661, two hundred and thirty-seven pounds were disbursed for printing the Bible, 50 for Mr. Eliot's salary, 30 for Mr. Mayhew's, 25 for Mr. Bourne's, and large sums for the education of young persons.[1] In 1658, an appeal had been made to the Society for help for the widow of Mr. Thomas Mayhew; the devoted father had been drowned the year before, and the no less devoted widow desired that her "three boys might be brought up in learning to fitt them for after service amongst the Indians." Twenty pounds were voted her from the funds of the Society, and the support of the eldest boy at school was assumed.[2] Some six years before the establishing of the "Society for the Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the Indians in New England," (that is, May 16, 1643,) the four Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven had formally entered into a "more near confederation and union," for "mutual aid and

[1] Morton's *Memorial*, p. 380.
[2] *Correspondence of Colonial Commissioners*, p. 4.

defence in matters of general concern"; and evidently the moral and spiritual condition of the Indians was commonly regarded as one of these "matters of general concern"; so that when the Propagation Society was established in England, and it was provided that the funds of the Society should be received and disbursed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, (without doubt at the suggestion of Governor Winslow, himself one of the Commissioners for Plymouth, as well as a member of the Corporation of the Society), these Commissioners, two from each of the four Colonies, readily consented to serve as requested; and for nearly forty years they and their successors honored their sacred stewardship with the utmost fidelity.[1]

In 1646 the *General Court of Massachusetts Bay* adopted certain laws, designed to help the Indians "live in an orderly way," and "reduce them to civility of life"; and with these enactments another follows, ordering that two ministers should be sent "to make known the Heavenly council of God among the Indians." Soon after Eliot's apostleship began, an Indian department of Harvard College was founded—the building being large enough to hold twenty students, and costing between three and four hundred pounds. This money was provided by the English Society, chiefly at the instance of the New Englanders. And although this Indian College was soon bereft of the students for whom it was designed, it continued to serve the natives, as the printing-house from which text-books and versions of the Scriptures in their own tongue were issued.[2]

An interesting item may be seen in Commissioner Stoughton's letter to the President of the Propagation Society, bearing date of April 14, 1693: "By what I have receaved from the Dutch minister at Fort Albany, you will understand that a goody beginning is there made to gospelize the Indians."[3]

[1] *Correspondence of Colonial Commissioners*, p. 6.
[2] *Cf.* Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, vol. 2, pp. 312, 315.
[3] *Correspondence of Colonial Commissioners*, p. 79.

The Dutch minister referred to was Domine GODEFRIEDUS DELLIUS, who had been for some ten years at Albany, succeeding the aged Domine Schaats, and the third minister of this fifty-one-year-old Church. In common with other ministers sent out by the Classis of Amsterdam, Dellius was under commission "to edify and improve" the savages, as well as the white settlers. Albany being one hundred and fifty miles from the sea, in a position peculiarly exposed to danger, it was a wise policy for the inhabitants to secure the friendship and confidence of the surrounding Indians. While Albany was still Fort Orange, and merely a trading-post, the Mohawks west of the Hudson and the Mohicans east of that river, long-time enemies, had fought out many bloody contests for the supremacy, resulting not long before the coming of the first Dutch minister in 1642, in the utter defeat of the Mohicans, the slaughter of many, and the flight of the survivors to the lower valley of the Connecticut. The victorious Mohawks, now lords of all that region, were the strongest and most warlike tribe of the Iroquois Confederacy; they were shrewd, haughty, and relentlessly ferocious. The first coming of the Dutch in September, 1609, found these Indians favorably disposed to friendship with the newcomers, not merely for the sake of trade, but because they sadly needed allies with much-coveted firearms, who could help them hold their own in any further battle with the hated Hurons and French, who but two months before had humbled them in ignominious defeat. A treaty of peace and amity mutually advantageous to the Iroquois and the Dutch was soon solemnly ratified, which was frequently re-confirmed afterward, but never broken by Indian or white man for more than a century and a half. And because of this firm, unbroken friendship, the long struggle between the English and the French ended finally in the victory of the American Colonies. But the determining element in the long and weary contest was the position of the Iroquois. This great Confederacy of Indian Nations remained to the

end inveterately hostile to the French, and perpetually faithful to the Colonies. If France could have *won* the friendship of the Iroquois, as she continually tried to do, and in all possible ways, the issue of the struggle would at least have been long deferred, perhaps even might have resulted in long-continued French supremacy. But the Iroquois friendship and alliance were due chiefly to the efforts of the Albany Dutch. And note this especially: it was not simply prudent policy which made the Dutchman so skilful and self-controlled in maintaining brotherly relations with the Indian;—his *religious conviction*, even more than his commercial good sense, made him scrupulously *faithful* to his Indian allies.

Arendt van Curler, Superintendent at Rensselaerwyck, and afterward Colonial Secretary, to the rude, lion-like savage realized his ideal of justice, goodness, and honor; and when that savage gravely addressed Governor Lovelace or Fletcher, as "CORLEAR" (his name for van Curler), he could not pay that official higher honor, nor give him greater assurance of confidence in his good faith. But van Curler was a thoroughly reliable man because he was a true Christian, and like his pastor Megapolensis, realized the inalienable *right* of the Indian to justice, brotherly kindness, and a share in the light and life of the Blessed Gospel and the Holy Saviour. In later years Peter Schuyler, first Mayor of Albany, Deacon-treasurer of the Albany Church (in whose account-books may be read at every page-top the legend in his own handwriting, "Praise to God"), the trusted friend and fellow-helper of Domine Dellius, Peter Schuyler, the Iroquois soon came to know as a man to be trusted and loved; so that anything "QUIDOR" said was as *true* to the trusting Iroquois as ever to the devout saint were "proofs from Holy Writ." And what van Curler and Schuyler were in their day, other and later Dutchmen endeavored to be in theirs, as members of the same, venerable Missionary Church, just and true in all their dealings, so confessing

and commending the Gospel they professed, preaching and practising the Religion which alone can *save* Indian as well as white man. These good men were trusted so implicitly by the Indians that hundreds of them confessed their faith and Saviour, and were received to the Church. For the Dutch Church at Albany was for long time an earnest aggressive Missionary Church,—an active agency of the God who will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; and an aggressive, vigorous Missionary Agency, because *charged* in each succeeding pastor's commission by the Mother Church in Holland with missionary *duty* and *responsibility* to the degraded *red men;* so that the ministers declared, and the laymen realized, the Christian obligation, not merely of paying the Indian owner his price for his land, or his furs, or his food-supply, but the further, higher obligation of seeking faithfully to bring him to trust, and confess, and serve the Only True God and Saviour of Mankind. Now one might speak of the earlier Megapolensis, as well as the later Lydius and Freeman; but time will permit only a little more detail about the Domine DELLIUS mentioned above. He came to Albany in 1683, and at once began the study of the Mohawk language, and put himself in direct communication with them. Availing himself of their strong religious sentiment, he instructed them in the Christian faith; they listened, and many of them joined the Church. Nor were the impressions made by Dellius transient; many, if not all, of his converts lived exemplary lives, and remained true to the faith he taught them. He baptized his first Indian convert the year he came; and six months afterward eleven more. One of his converts was Hendrick, later known as King Hendrick, and the warm friend of Sir William Johnson. From 1692 to 1698 Dellius baptized 105 Mohawks, men, women, and children. No one was more reverentially regarded by the Indians than Dellius; and his deep concern for the red men brought him at length the enmity and relentless persecution of the unprincipled Bellomont, the

English Governor of the Colony, and through him the loss of his Albany pastorate. Dellius saw that rum was making fearful havoc among the Mohawks; for this they would barter their furs, and, when furs failed, their lands, to unprincipled traders and speculators. Their chiefs protested against the abuse, but without avail. Then Dellius made his first efforts to save their homes on the banks of their own beautiful river, where were their villages and hunting-grounds. When this apparently failed, he purchased from Governor Fletcher a patent of their hunting-grounds to the east of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, that when they lost their home-lands, the remnant of the tribe whom he hoped to have Christianized, might have a place to live not too remote from civilization. The next year Dellius secured this tract of land as the Mohawk homestead by a trust deed to himself and several others, members and officers of his Church and friends of the Indians. But the new Governor Bellomont maligned Dellius, defamed him, and fiercely persecuted him; the land patent was cancelled, and Dellius was compelled for the sake of peace and vindication to refer his case to the Classis of Amsterdam, which after fair trial thoroughly vindicated him. By an exchange of parishes, Domine Lydius became his successor in care of the Albany Church.[1]

Much more than any other Albany minister, Domine Dellius combined the fidelity of the pastor and the aggressive evangelism of the missionary; and although the wiles and wrath of his enemies shortened his ministry to sixteen years, yet the special work of Dellius reminds one much of the noble work of Eliot two hundred miles away to the eastward.

In these modern times the interest in missionary work without doubt is more general throughout the Christian Church than at any other period of the past three centuries, or even the past sixteen centuries. But during all time

[1] Schuyler's *Colonial New York*, ii., 144–148

since the days of the first Apostles of our LORD, nobler examples can nowhere be found of true Apostolic zeal, gracious modesty and simplicity, fearless self-sacrifice, and inflexible faithfulness in the Ministry of the Gospel to the superstitious and degraded, than the humble, yet unwearying and heroic MISSIONARIES to the Indians during America's early Colonial period.

Beatification and Canonization with Special Reference to Historic Proof and the Proof of Miracles

By

Allen Dudley Severance

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HISTORIC PROOF AND THE PROOF OF MIRACLES

By Allen Dudley Severance, Professor of History, Western Reserve University

(*Read December 27, 1910*)

A FIRM grasp of the principles of evidence is essential to the success of the historian. When an alleged miracle is to be verified the questions at once arise, "Are miracles differently proved from other facts?" "Do they demand the same amount of testimony?" or "Are more witnesses required than for an ordinary event?" In 1883, the Jesuit De Smedt wrote in his *Critique Historique* as follows: "The possibility of a miracle never troubles seriously the judgment of Catholic critics . . . , they know that they must demand a superabundance of proofs, which they do not ask for when the facts are entirely in accord with physical laws." For an illustration of the application of this rule, he refers his readers to the process of canonization as practised by "the tribunal, the most respectable in the eyes of Catholics."[1] Of course he refers to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies.

Since cognizance of the learned Bollandist's work the writer of this paper has been interested in studying how the Roman Catholic Church sifts out miracles. There is great

[1] De Smedt, *Critique Historique*, pp. 276, 277.

difficulty in finding material. Research in the British Museum failed to unearth scarcely more than Father Faber's *Treatise on Beatification and Canonization*, printed in 1848. The beatification of Jeanne d'Arc, on April 11, 1906, caused a renewal of interest in the subject and lead to the publication of works from which Catholics, and others, may learn how the Church proceeds. Among many books consulted, two have been found especially helpful, *Les Procès de Béatification et de Canonisation*, by A. Boudinhon, Professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris, published in Paris, Bloud et Cie, 1908. There is also a mine of information in the book of the Rev. Canon Thomas F. Macken, of the Cathedral of Armagh, entitled *The Canonization of Saints*, published in Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son, 1910. The book contains a letter of commendation from Cardinal Logue, and therefore may be considered a reliable source of information.

It is not the intention of the paper read this afternoon to be polemic, but to describe the various safeguards and checks resorted to by the Roman Catholic Church in the process of making a saint, or rather of proving the facts that are the indispensable antecedents of saintship.

It is well to begin with the definition of terms. In order to be considered a "Servant of God," it is sufficient that the deceased person should enjoy a wide reputation for holiness of life. The term "Venerable" is given to candidates for sainthood, whose cause has been introduced at Rome.[1] "Beatification" is the permissive veneration which the pope allows to be paid in a diocese, or by members of a religious order, to one whose cause has been passed upon and approved by the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. The title *Beatus* is given such a person, whose picture may be represented with rays streaming from the head, but his image may not be placed upon the altars. Canonization, on the other hand, is mandatory, and is the decree by which the pope recommends for veneration to the entire Church, the

[1] Macken, p. 4.

person whose virtues and miracles have been passed again under review, since beatification. Such a person is termed *Sanctus*, his name is inscribed in the catalogue of saints and he may be represented with an aureola, or round halo of light about the head.

Roman Catholics adduce as proof texts[1] for the veneration of the saints, Matthew v: 15—"Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house." Also, Romans xv: 30—"I beseech you therefore, brethren, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Ghost, that you help me in your prayers for me to God." They say that if St. Paul besought the prayers of the living, why are not the prayers of the dead equally efficacious? To Protestants who quote the text, 1 Timothy ii: 5—"For there is one God, and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (Douay Version), they reply that Christ is our mediator by way of redemption, but not by intercession.

At first local martyrs were honored. This was a natural impulse. Eusebius[2] tells of the martyrdom of Polycarp and that the Church of Smyrna gathered up his bones, "which were more valuable than precious stones and more to be esteemed than gold, and laid them in a suitable place." Scores of such examples could be cited. Martyrs whose cause had been discussed and the fame of whose martyrdom had been proved were known as *Vindicati*. After the martyrs came the confessors, those who had remained loyal to the faith, but had not suffered death.[3] Then came the bishops, founders of churches, and converters of whole nations, such as, for example, St. Martin,—and then the illustrious doctors of the Church, such as St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, etc.[4] Toward the end of the seventh century,

[1] For "Proof Texts," vide *Cath. Encyc.* art., "Beatification."
[2] Eusebius, *Church History*, iv., 15 (ed., McGiffert, p. 192).
[3] Boudinhon, p. 9.
[4] Boudinhon, p. 9.

intervention on the part of bishops becomes much more frequent, especially as regards the translation and veneration of relics.[1]

A process of centralization was however going on, which was somewhat marked toward the end of the tenth century. The dangers to purity of public worship, which first led to the intervention of the bishops, later induced the popes to take a hand in the matter. Unworthy persons had been venerated. Alexander III. protested in 1173 against the veneration as a saint, of a man who had been killed while intoxicated, and forbade reverence paid to him, even though miracles had been worked through him.[2] In England, Earl Waltheof (d. 1076) was widely regarded as a martyr, and miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. The reason for this veneration was however really due to the antipathy against William the Conqueror, who had put the Earl to death.[3] Even in the thirteenth century, the Dominican Inquisitor Stephen of Bourbon discovered that the peasants of Villeneuve (Doubs) were venerating a certain Saint Guinefort. Upon investigation it was brought to light that this saint was not a man at all, but a poor dog who had been unjustly killed by his master.[4] It was in protest against such abuses, and in response to the centralizing tendency going on in the Church, that the popes intervened. The first papal canonization occurred under John XV., in 933, and was that of St. Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg.[5] There are, however, instances of episcopal canonization as late as 1153.[6]

Until toward the end of the Middle Ages, there was practically no distinction between beatification and canonization, and the terms *Beatus* and *Sanctus* were interchangeably employed.[7] In those days, canonization fol-

[1] Macken, p. 23. [2] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification."
[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. "Waltheof."
[4] Rambaud, *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, p. 312, n. 2.
[5] Boudinhon, p. 13. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 13. [7] Macken, p. 29.

lowed soon after death.[1] St. Francis of Assisi, who died on the 4th of October 1226, was canonized on the 19th of July 1228. St. Anthony of Padua, who died on the 15th of June 1231, was canonized on the 3d of June 1232. The most rapid canonization of all was that of St. Peter of Castlenau, the first martyr of the Inquisition, who was put to death on the 15th of January 1208, and whose veneration Innocent III. authorized on the 12th of March of the same year, less than three months. The witnesses in those days were generally eye-witnesses, while the procedure to-day is largely documentary.

In the sixteenth century, Sixtus V. instituted the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. The matter was definitely settled by the celebrated decrees of Urban VIII. in 1625 and 1634, reserving the right of beatification and canonization exclusively to the popes of Rome.[2]

The final touches were put on by Benedict XIV. (1675–1758), who was for many years Promoter of the Faith at Rome. His great work *De Beatificatione et Canonisatione* is that on which all modern treatises on the subject rest.[3] The question has been discussed by canonists "Is the pope infallible in beatification and canonization?" The general opinion seems to be that the pope is not infallible in beatification, but he is when issuing the decree of canonization.[4] The words of Benedict XIV. himself would seem to bear out this assertion. "I myself, who for so many years discharged the office of Promoter of the Faith, have seen with my own eyes (if I may so express it) the Holy Spirit assisting the Roman Pontiff in the definition of causes of canonization. In some cases, when all seemed to be going on prosperously, difficulties, unperceived before suddenly came up and kept the cause back. In others, difficulties which seemed so insuperable that the cause was on the point of being stopped, were removed in the most unex-

[1] Boudinhon, p. 15. [2] Macken, p. 31. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[4] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification."

pected manner by the discovery of fresh evidence, and the cause was concluded in triumph."[1]

Before entering upon the intricate processes of the beatification of confessors, we may here glance at two roads a little out of the ordinary, which lead to saintship, the so-called "Excepted Case" and the "Cause of Martyrs."

In the decrees of 1625 and 1634, Urban VIII. expressly stated that it was not his intention "to prejudice the case of those who had been honored by the general consent of the Church or by a custom of which the memory of man ran not to the contrary." The "Excepted Case,"[2] as it is called, always refers to "Immemorial Cultus." This cultus, as defined in the decree, must have exceeded one hundred years, therefore only those Servants of God fall under this ruling who have died before 1525. In other words, Rome ratifies the veneration with which they have been honored, provided it has been continuous and is referred to her. It appears thus, that the majority of those on the calendar secured their places by having lived previous to 1525. This method of procedure is sometimes called "Equivalent Beatification." Very recently, the cult of Urban II., the pope of the First Crusade, was re-established by this process.

Though some of the same processes are held as in the case of confessors, martyrdom is the most direct road to saintship.[3] In the early Christian Church, the martyrs were the first to receive religious honors. Martyrdom is defined as "the undergoing of death or sufferings which would naturally result in death, for the faith of Christ or some virtue taught by Christ." It is the cause of death, not the death, that makes the martyr. Thus Thomas à Becket (d. 1170), whose early life was not particularly edifying, was considered a martyr because he died in defence of the immunities of the Church. Original sin and shortcomings are blotted out by

[1] Cited in *Dublin Review*, vol. XC., third series, no. xii., Jan. 1882, p. 193.
[2] Macken, Chap. XI., "The Excepted Case," pp. 209–215.
[3] Macken, Chap. XII., "On the Cause of Martyrs," pp. 216–233.

martyrdom and—what is most important in a candidate for saintship—martyrdom is considered an equivalent to the possession of heroic virtue. It is also easier to prove. Particular inquiry is made as to the signs of martyrdom, viz., miraculous occurrences surrounding the death of the saint, such as a supernatural odor proceeding from the wounds.

Two points must be proved: first, the violent death of the martyr; and second, the cause of the martyrdom. In the case of some martyrs, the decision as to miracles has been entirely dispensed with. There are but six steps in the process of a martyr. Roman Catholic writers enumerate twenty steps in the process of the beatification of confessors.[1] Boudinhon[2] criticises what he calls "these judicial solemnities of another age," and intimates that the multiplicity of oaths, signatures, seals, and attestations risks turning the attention from veritable proofs. In fact, so complicated are the rules of procedure that there is not a single process in which a quantity of dispensations and indults are not granted.[3] Thus no two cases are conducted in precisely the same manner. It is also sometimes difficult to tell from the works one reads whether an inquiry is being conducted at Rome, or in the diocese. Only those processes are here described which are the most important and essential.

There are three prerequisites for saintship—orthodoxy of belief, sanctity of life, or, as it is usually stated, the practice of the virtues in heroic degree, and miracles, which must have been wrought either during the lifetime of the Servant of God, or after death at his tomb, or by his relics.

The cause begins in the diocese where the Servant of God is buried. All possible information concerning the candidate for churchly honors is collected and sent to Rome. Especially must the bishop prove *Non Cultus*, that is, that the

[1] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification."
[2] Boudinhon, p. 36.
[3] Boudinhon, p. 37.

future saint has not received veneration in defiance of the decree of Urban VIII. forbidding such unauthorized cultus. If the *beatificandus* has left any writings, these are forwarded to Rome, where they are examined to see whether they contain any propositions which can justly be called heretical. Objectionable sentiments submitted to the judgment of the Church, or retracted afterwards, form no obstacle to beatification.[1]

Both in the diocese and at Rome, the cause takes on the aspect of a law suit in the civil courts. The reputation of the future saint is defended by a "Postulator,"[2] who may be said to represent the public opinion of the community which is clamoring for beatification. Opposed to him is the "Promoter of the Faith,"[3] the so-called *Advocatus Diaboli* (probably the best known to the general public of any of the officials taking part in the trial). The Promoter of the Faith opposes the canonization of the saint, consequently he came to be regarded as the enemy of the saint; but, as the Devil is the great enemy of the saints, the Promoter of the Faith came in time to be called the "Devil's Advocate." His duties are not alone to impede, but to see that all the forms of canon law are observed and to raise all possible objections, that the whole truth may be discovered and all the facts shown in their true light. In the diocese the opposing advocates are not always known by these names, though they perform these functions. All the great orders have postulators residing at Rome.[4]

No process is valid in which eight or ten witnesses are not called. Hostile witnesses must be summoned and examine d Reputation for sanctity requires at least thirty witnesses. The character and ability of these witnesses count much.[5] Witnesses are bound to tell *all* they know, whether favorable or unfavorable, about the future saint. They are after-

[1] Macken, Chap. VII., "Examination of the Writings," p. 115 *et seq.*
[2] Boudinhon, p. 27 *ff.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 30. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[5] Macken, p. 71.

wards given opportunity for adding to or subtracting from their evidence.[1]

The proceedings of the episcopal inquiry in the diocese must be finished in two years and sent to Rome, duly signed and sealed, where they ordinarily remain unopened for ten years.[2] The reason for this delay is to save the witnesses from the danger of having their evidence tainted by too strong feeling, if they are examined soon after the death of the Servant of God, when his reputation for holiness is most intense. To induce Rome to take up the matter "Postulatory Letters" are sent to the Holy Father, letters signed by distinguished personages, such as kings, presidents, governors, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries. The Church rarely takes action until petitioned in this way.[3]

At a date decided upon, the cause is then presented to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. The members of this congregation, acting like a grand jury in the civil courts, vote on the question, "Is there ground for introducing the case?" If the vote is affirmative, it is then reported to the pope, and if he approves, he affixes the first letter of his baptismal name and the word *placet*. Henceforth the candidate for churchly honors is styled *Venerabilis*.[4]

As has been stated, after the finding of the first episcopal inquiry has been sent to Rome, it reposes there for ten years. During this time, to guard against the loss of testimony by the death of witnesses of advanced age and other contingencies, there is opened in the diocese so-called "Incohative Process" (*ne pereant probationes*). Those are considered to be old who have reached the age of fifty years.[5]

After the cause has been taken up by the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, the processes are called apostolic, whether conducted in the diocese, or at Rome.

[1] Macken, p. 69. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 77. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[4] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification."
[5] *Ibid.*

The general reputation for sanctity and miracles is discussed at Rome. The proof of general reputation for sanctity is comparatively easy.[1] If the result is favorable to the candidate for churchly honors, the case is then referred back to the diocese where the cause for the establishment of "the virtues and miracles in particular" is tried. The process regarding the virtues and miracles is so important, that in order to secure impartiality, it is not undertaken until fifty years after the death of the venerable personage. This process naturally takes place in the diocese and must be finished in eighteen months.[2] The real trial of the candidate begins with this process, viz., "the apostolic process on the virtues and miracles in particular." It is the cardinal inquiry. The real question is, "Did the person proposed for Beatification practise virtue in the heroic degree, and was this virtue illustrated by the gift of miracles?"[3] As an illustration of heroic virtue, Canon Macken states that it is virtue to observe Lenten regulations for fasting, but that to prolong the Lenten fast through the entire year would be a heroic virtue.[4] These heroic acts should be done promptly, easily, and with delight. A few heroic acts are not enough; there should be a permanent and habitual practice of heroic virtue.[5] The examination for virtues seems to be quite thorough.

Objections have arisen against illustrious personages, and these objections have been sustained, excluding them from saintship, as *e.g.*, Cardinal Ximenes,[6] Archbishop of Toledo, was objected to because he brought about a wealthy marriage for his niece and gave her a large dowry, though it was proved that the dowry was derived from his private estates, and not from the revenues of the Church. A similar objection was brought against Cardinal Robert Bellarmine[7] (d. 1621), and he was also rejected. In both cases it was held

[1] Boudinhon, p. 49.
[2] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification," p. 368.
[3] Macken, p. 141.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

that distributive justice, which should be the special virtue of prelates, was not strictly observed.

Miracles may be discussed in three of the twenty processes.[1] The "Special Apostolic Process on the Individual Miracles" is naturally held in the diocese where the wonders are asserted to have been wrought.[2] The results of this investigation are later sent to the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies for their deliberation.

Generally speaking, without miracles there can be no saints. And yet, lest a wrong impression be given, we must hasten to add that in both beatification and canonization no inquiry is held regarding miracles until satisfactory proof of heroic virtue is first obtained. Benedict XIV. himself said: "These virtues are the first and most decided witness to sanctity; visions, prophecy, and miracles are only of second importance, and they are absolutely ignored if proof of heroic virtue is not forthcoming."[3]

At least two miracles are required for beatification, and two additional miracles for canonization. These new miracles must have been wrought since beatification through the intercession of the candidate for saintship.

The following facts must be brought forward to prove miraculous cures.[4] First, the name and address of the person cured. Second, was the person, to use a technical phrase, a difficult subject? Also the date when the disease began. Third and fourth, who were the doctors and what was their treatment? Fifth, at whose suggestion was the Servant of God invoked? Were any other of the inhabitants of heaven appealed to for help? Sixth, was the cure gradual or instantaneous? Seventh, the opinion of the doctors as to whether the cure was to be attributed to the process of nature or not, and their certificates to this effect, are to be sent to Rome. Eighth, the postulator should state whether he can prove the miraculous occurrence by a num-

[1] Macken, p. 181. [2] *Cath. Encyc.*, art. "Beatification," p. 368.
[3] Macken, p. 186. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 189–191.

ber of eye-witnesses; for some eye-witnesses are always necessary for the satisfactory proof of a miracle.

At least ten witnesses are necessary to prove a miracle, two of whom must be official witnesses, that is, called by the judge or the *Advocatus Diaboli.*[1] The medical men, who are to give evidence, must bind themselves on oath to speak the truth. If they are infidels, they swear on their honor, and if heretics, they are sworn on their honor or on the Gospels, according to their particular sect.[2] Independent medical experts are also called in to examine the person restored to health. The supreme judgment rests with the pope who, if the decision is favorable announces, "that there is satisfactory proof of the miracle or miracles in the cause, and to the purpose in question."[3]

For the Roman Catholic, it is "of faith" that miracles never cease in the Church.[4] Cardinal Newman said[5] that it would be more difficult for him to believe that the Divine Being should do one miracle and no more, than that he should do a thousand." Canon Macken says, "To the "Catholic, miracles are facts of history and biography and capable of evidence of the most rigorous proof." He says that the raising of the dead can be proved,[6] and cites the case of Lazarus in the New Testament. He omits, however, to give any modern examples.

It has not been possible to find many illustrations of modern miracles. Four, however, will be given as illustrations of miracles that have been accepted by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church.

The first[7] occurred through the intercession of Blessed Alphonsus de Rodriguez, a Spanish Jesuit, who died in 1617, who was beatified in 1825, and canonized by Leo XIII. in 1887. The reference given is to the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. xx., p. 475. The miracle was accepted by the Holy See for the canonization of this Spanish Jesuit. It consisted in the

[1] Macken, p. 191. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 192. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 193. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 196. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 198. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

instantaneous and perfect cure from cancer of Sister Mary Alphonsus Gallis, a professed nun in the convent of Antwerp. The experts, it is stated, were unanimous in their opinion that she was suffering from cancer. Her father, it is declared, and other relatives had died from the same disease. The life of the nun was despaired of and her sisters in the convent joined in a novena seeking the intercession of the Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez. On the last day of the novena, December 8, 1863, when she had received the Blessed Eucharist, she arose from her bed of sickness and walked about the convent unaided, proclaiming the wondrous miracle which had been wrought. She then went back to the performance of her arduous duties, and was in the enjoyment of perfect health, in the year 1887, twenty-four years after her miraculous escape from death. It is said that this cure was witnessed by numerous persons both within and without the convent, and that no element was wanting that was calculated to bring conviction to the candid mind.

The second miracle[1] to be brought up in illustration this afternoon occurred at St. Louis, Missouri, in 1861. It was one of the two accepted by the Holy See as wrought after his beatification by Blessed Peter Claver, a Jesuit and apostle to the negroes of Carthagena, who died in 1654. The subject of this cure was Ignatius Strecher, a pious German Catholic. While employed in a soap factory in St. Louis, he met with an accident in which an iron bar pierced his chest. Caries, or gangrenous eating away of the breastbone resulted. The affection spread to the lungs, and manifest symptoms of consumption became evident. The sputum was examined by physicians, and these gave testimony to the presence of this dread disease, as did also the violent and persistent cough. Moved by the entreaties of his wife, Strecher commended himself to the prayers and patronage of the Blessed Peter Claver. He betook himself to the Church of Father Weninger where he touched the relics,

[1] Macken, p. 202.

and was instantly cured. So complete and thorough was his recovery, that he at once resumed his severe labors and continued in that occupation for many years, enjoying perfect health.

It is stated that this miracle made a great sensation in St. Louis. The celebrated Cardinal Ledochowski conducted the inquiry, when the facts were still fresh in the memory of all. Canon Macken, from whose book these two illustrations have been taken, lays stress upon the fact that these are cures of the two diseases most dreaded by humanity, and most baffling to the medical profession.[1]

Pius IX., who held the pontificate longer than any other Pope, participated in only two canonizations. The first was in 1862, when he canonized twenty-six Japanese martyrs, who perished in 1597. According to the *Dublin Review* for November, 1862,[2] "The bodies of the saints remained on the cross for two months, during which time it pleased God to mark their sanctity and their glory by various miracles. Among these may be noted that the birds of prey, contrary to their usual habit in such cases, never touched these sacred bodies. Also the restoration to life of a child who had been rubbed by some earth which had absorbed the blood of St. Peter Baptist, and especially the extraordinary vision of this same saint saying mass, attended, as he was during life, by another of the martyrs, St. Anthony, which occurred several times."

On December 8, 1881, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Pope Leo XIII. declared the honors of canonization to four saints.

According to the *Dublin Review*,[3] for January, 1882, "St. Clare of Montefalco, . . . was a humble nun, who lived all her life in her native town, and died there in 1308. Montefalco is a little town not far from Assisi." . . . (p. 194). "But the marvellous feature of the history of her canonization

[1] Macken, p. 204.
[2] *Dublin Review*, Nov., 1862, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 90, p. 190 *ff.*

is that the present Pope [Leo XIII.], as we gather from his own words, looks upon her as a defender of the Church and of Rome. . . ." (p. 195).

"These previsions of the Vicar of Christ are confirmed in a very curious manner by the fact that the incorrupt body of St. Clare, lying in its crystal case in the Church of the Convent at Montefalco, appears to be endowed with a miraculous consciousness when trouble is at hand for the Church. These signs were remarked as long ago as the times of the Reformation in Germany. There seems no reason to doubt that, on more than one occasion, the portion of dried blood which is preserved with the body, has liquefied and seemed to boil up with greater or less violence and continuousness in proportion as the trial to come was more or less severe. But what has recently happened to the body itself is still more curious and striking. . . ." (p. 195).

"In the year 1831, his [Pius IX. while Abp. of Spoleto] attention had been called to a very remarkable occurrence. . . . It was reported to him, during this year, that the incorrupt body of St. Clare had moved one of its feet and turned aside its head—as if to express its horror of the impious attempts against Christ's Vicar. . . ." (p. 196) "its truth seems to follow from what is about to be related. On May 27, 1847 . . . the nuns of the convent of Montefalco were in their choir about eight o'clock in the evening, and were reciting the office of complin. The 'urn' or crystal case, in which was the incorrupt body of St. Clare, is placed . . . in a recess in the thickness of the wall of the choir, and the recess is enclosed by wooden doors, usually kept fast shut by a little bolt. . . . Suddenly the sisters heard a noise as if a bolt had been drawn, and they saw, to their amazement, the door of the recess fly open of its own accord. The same evening, after complin, two or three of the sisters went to look at the holy body. They found that the body had undoubtedly moved. The head had slipped off the pillow, or cushion; the crown in one part no longer

touched the cushion . . . the veil had opened as if the head had moved, and the tunic was slightly creased. . . . Moreover, a small gold crucifix, which had stood on a little base prepared for it, had fallen down and lay across the hands. Seven weeks later, on the 17th of July . . . the urn or reliquary of the body of St. Clare was found to be close to the iron grille which protects it. The sister sacristan had been accustomed to brush and dust the glass frequently; she found she could no longer even get her hand in; there was not a finger's breadth between the grille and the surface of the glass. There could be no doubt that the urn had moved; and it had to be forcibly pushed back to its ordinary position. Now these may seem to be small matters. But what is great and what is small? The supernatural universe is mightier than the world of Nature. Phenomena of the unseen world are infinitely more notable than those of earthly matter and force. A miracle does not generally stir the world of politics, of letters, or of science; but it marks the nearness of God, and it sets in motion the only irresistible human force—the prayer and the suffering of human hearts. The alleged supernatural occurrences of the 27th of May and the 17th of July were inquired into with all the rigour of the Roman Congregations when there is question of canonization" (pp. 196, 197).

The process occupied thirteen months, and the report is four hundred pages in length. The miraculous moving of St. Clare's incorrupt body was considered to be proved beyond doubt. In 1848, Father Faber wrote[1]: "All the investigations are conducted with extreme rigour. . . . If the Advocatus Diaboli can succeed in creating a doubt which cannot positively be set at rest, the miracle or the virtue is rejected. A fact only requires the appearance of being supernatural to awaken against it every suspicion."

Do the four miracles which have been narrated bear out his enthusiastic words?

[1] Faber, F. W., *Essay on Beatification, Canonization*, etc.

The best criticism of the entire process of canonization is that made by the learned Alfred Maury in *Les Légendes Pieuses.*[1]

He points out the fact that though the mediæval popes undertook investigations, they themselves had to have recourse to bishops, and to witnesses who were credulous persons, the dupes of enthusiasm, of fraud, or ignorance. He also points out that the better known a saint was, the fewer miracles he performed. He says that the saints most worthy of the celestial crown, such as St. Augustine, St. Louis, St. Stephen of Hungary, St. François de Sales, Saint Vincent de Paul, and St. Thomas Aquinas wrought no miracles. In fact the lack of miracles almost blocked the cause of St. Thomas, whereupon John XXII. (d. 1334) cried "*Quot scripsit articulos, tot miracula fecit.*"

It will be seen that the discussion resolves itself into the question, how much, and what sort of testimony is necessary to prove a miracle? Much help may be derived from the suggestion made by Langlois and Seignobos[2] in their *Introduction to the Study of History*, where they point out that the very notion of a miracle is metaphysical and theological. The only question for the historian is, "What were the facts?" To sort and pigeonhole these facts, declaring them natural or supernatural, is the work of the theologian and the philosopher, not of the historian.

The inquiry thus far has centred about beatification. To obtain canonization, two new miracles must have been wrought through the intercession of the blessed personage. The inquiries into these miracles are conducted like those for beatification. The inquiry naturally commences where the blessed one is buried, or his relics are shown. Then the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies studies and discusses these miracles in three sessions. These two new miracles must be proven to the satisfaction of this Congregation.

[1] Maury, Alfred, *Les Légendes Pieuses*, pp. 341, 342 (cf. p. 207, n. 2).

[2] Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, cf. pp. 206 *ff.*

At the last session the pope is present and pronounces sentence. The Holy Father then issues a bull of canonization, in which he not only permits, but commands the public and universal cultus or veneration of the saint.[1]

The ceremonies of beatification and canonization now take place in the Basilica of St. Peter.[2] The great church is elaborately decorated,—in fact a large part of the expense of beatification and canonization results from the cost of this decoration. To save expense, many saints are canonized together.

One curious feature of the ceremony of canonization is the gifts that are presented to the pope. These presents consist of wax candles, loaves of bread, a small gold barrel containing wine, and another silver one containing water, also three cages of birds. All these gifts have a spiritual meaning. The flame of the candle signifies the divinity of Christ; he is a consuming fire, and the wax, which is one of the most delicate substances, indicates that the members of the Church should be pure before God, also that the saints are a burning and shining light, and give light to the whole house. Bread signifies that the saints have no other nourishment but Jesus, in the Holy Eucharist. Wine is the symbol of sanctifying grace; water represents the tribulations of this world, and the little birds represent the inhabitants of the air, who, like the saints, spend but a little time on the earth.

Roman Catholics maintain that canonization is the highest honor which human society can render to any of its members.

The cost of canonization was far greater in the Middle Ages than to-day.[3] During the Ages of Faith, the Church had a greater revenue to expend on this magnificent spectacle. To-day it is stated that a reasonable estimate of the cost of canonization would be about £10,000. The beatifi-

[1] *Catholic Encyc.*, art. "Beatification."

[2] Macken, Chap. XIII., "The Ceremonies of Beatification and Canonization."

[3] Macken, Appendix, "Expenses of Canonization."

cation of Jeanne d' Arc reached the sum of £25,000. In the *Catholic Encyclopedia* may be found an itemized account of the expense of canonization, which occurred under Leo XIII. in the year 1897. Its cost was about $42,000, the greater part of which seems to have been expended at Rome.

Contrary to the general opinion of Protestants, Rome has gone slowly in the matter of beatification and canonization.[1] From 1661 to 1906 there have been 113 beatifications in Saint Peter's. Many servants of God are still on the waiting list. Constant pressure is being brought, it is said, by the Knights of Columbus, to have the discoverer of America declared a saint. According to the cable dispatches for Oct. 29, 1910, Henry Vignaud, for forty years Secretary of the American Embassy at Paris, threw a bomb into the camp by declaring in a critical document that Columbus was anything but a saintly man, especially as far as the fair sex was concerned. He was a great admirer of Beatrice Enriquez, whom he loved with an ardor not approved by saints, to say the very least.

The rumor is current that a movement is on foot to have Mary Stuart declared a saint.

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1884, petitioned for the beatification of three American Servants of God. These are the Jesuit priest, Father Isaac Jogues who died October 18, 1646, his companion René Goupil, a novice of the same society, and Catherine Tegakwita, the Indian Virgin of the Mohawk. Bancroft and Parkman refer to these, and their cause has been championed in the *Catholic World* for October, 1872, by R. H. Clark, LL.D., a lawyer living in New York.

In the brief time allowed, it is impossible to present the abundance of material collected. The resulting impressions from this study are these:

1. The process concerning virtues is most rigorous, and with this process, Protestants can have little complaint,

[1] Macken, p. 235.

though the Protestant ideal of sanctity may include one set of persons, and the Roman Catholic ideal, another.

2. The delay of time taken in investigating a miracle works both ways. It may prevent undue hero worship immediately after the death of the Servant of God; on the other hand the longer the delay, the more difficult it is to investigate and disprove the miracle.

3. Roman Catholics claim large credit that the cause is transferred from the diocese to Rome, from Rome to the diocese, and then back and forth.

The question however may be raised, "Which is more important, that the material to be sifted be passed again and again through the sieve, or that the holes of the sieve be made smaller?" Protestants and rationalistically minded persons will be inclined to construct their sieves with finer meshes than those of the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies.

4. Just as amongst Protestants, the question is up for discussion, "Do miracles vouch for the life of Christ, or does the life of Christ carry the miracle?" so it seems that sooner or later Roman Catholics will be forced to ask this question, "Are the miracles narrated in the lives of the Saints a source of strength, or a source of weakness?"

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Smedt, Ch., *La Critique Historique*, Liège and Paris, La Société Bibliographique, 1883.

Boudinhon, A. *Les Procès de Béatification et de Canonisation*, Paris, Bloud et Cie, 1908, 3e ed.

Macken, Rev. Thomas F., *The Canonization of Saints*, Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son, 1910; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, art. "Beatification," N. Y., Robert Appleton Company, 1906 *et seq.*

Faber, F. W., *Essay on Beatification, Canonization*, etc., London, 1848.

Benedict XIV., "Heroic Virtue," a portion of the Treatise of, Translation from the Latin, London, Thomas Richardson & Son, 1850–2.

Moigno, L'Abbé François Napoléon Marie, *Les Splendeurs de la Foi*, Paris, Bleriot et Gautier, 1882. Vol. v. has the sub-title, "Le Miracle au Tribunal de la Science," and contains the "Actes des procès de Béatification et Canonisation de Saint Benoit-Joseph Labre" (pp. xxxi., 895).

The Growth of the Layman's Power in the Episcopal Church

By

Daniel Dulany Addison

THE GROWTH OF THE LAYMAN'S POWER IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

By Daniel Dulany Addison, Rector of All Saints' Church, Brookline, Massachusetts

(*Read December 27, 1910*)

THE layman's power in the Episcopal Church is equal to that of the clergy and the bishops. Not only in the management of the parish, as a member or a vestryman, but in the legislation of the Diocese, in the Diocesan Convention, and in the legislation of the Church as a whole, in the General Convention, all action must be taken with his consent. There must be a concurrence between the clerical and lay vote. In the Diocesan Convention each parish is represented by the clergyman and the lay delegates; and in the General Convention, each diocese is represented by four clergymen and four laymen and the bishop. This procedure is such a radical departure from the law of the Church of England, which planted the Church in the Colonies that an inquiry into its development and growth may be of value in analyzing American conditions and tendencies. Dr. S. D. McConnell in his history says: "The provision in its fundamental law for the admission of the laity into the Church's governing body as an independent estate is an arrangement which had not been in operation for fifteen centuries. It was a return to a practice of the most primitive period, and had no contemporary illustration."[1]

[1] *History of the American Episcopal Church*, S. D. McConnell, p. 243.

The aim of this paper is to trace the causes that gave rise to this unique growth in ecclesiastical polity and to trace the steps of its progress.

The pioneer conditions in the new land were favorable to the exercise of power by the layman. Clergymen were sent out with the colonizing expeditions in many instances, but they were not able to minister to the people after they scattered into new homes. We find that loyal churchmen, possessing their Book of Common Prayer, would meet together in private houses and conduct the services themselves. This was especially true in the New England Colonies when public worship of the Church of England was not permitted in the early days. In other sections, the lay reader became an important person, as a letter written from Newcastle, Delaware, in 1717 indicates: "The zeal and affection of the people of Lewistown for the Church have appeared so great of late that they have pitched upon a sober person among them to read prayers to them every Lord's Day, which he does with so great applause that the congregation he supplies as a reader doth visibly increase every Sabbath."[1] From another letter we read, "This falling away is very much prevented in this country by the help of those readers who minister, now among the people."[2] Even where there was a clergyman it was found very convenient on occasions to utilize the services of a layman in the conduct of the worship. When the clergyman had to be absent for any length of time this means was usually resorted to. A clergyman writing in 1731 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with reference to a three months' absence in England says: "I have taken pains, but see no possibility of getting my cure supplied during my absence unless now and then a Sunday. I have thought of the following method viz.: to put a volume of plain and useful sermons into the hand of some sober, discreet layman to read to the people on Sundays, during my stay in England;

[1] *Historical Collections*, Delaware, p. 33. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

as also to read the public prayers."[1] So serious in the minds of some of the clergy did the custom of having lay readers become that they protested against it. Dr. McSparan of Rhode Island, published in 1751, a pamphlet, bristling with controversy with the title, "The Sacred Dignity of the Priesthood Vindicated." This was answered by Mr. Samuel Bevan in a brochure with the significant title, "The Religious Liberty of the Christian Laity Asserted," followed later by another called, "Lay Liberty Reasserted."

The fact of the matter was that often in colonial days, if the services of the Church were to be maintained it was necessary for the laymen to take entire charge not only of the management of the property but of the worship as well. If a clergyman was ill or died it was a long time before the information could be lodged with its authorities in England, and a new missionary sent out. Frequently undesirable clergymen were sent and the people rebelled against them. The Church of England missions were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London who was far beyond the seas, and though he was supposed to exercise guidance through his appointed commissaries, the oversight was often merely nominal. The repeated refusal to consecrate bishops for the Colonies resulted in a very incomplete ecclesiastical system, so that the laymen, by virtue of necessity, grew accustomed to the exercise of considerable power in the management of their religious affairs.

In a more definite way the power of the laity was increased by the laws governing the rights of vestries in Maryland and Virginia; and especially in these Colonies where the Church was allied to the State, the laymen through the legislation exercised a large measure of control. In the many controversies between the clergy and laity in these Colonies about such matters as increase or diminution of salaries, acts introduced to establish courts for the trial of the clergy, the laymen

[1] *Historical Collections*, Delaware, p. 57.

sometimes took a ferocious interest in ecclesiastical affairs. From the intolerance and self-interest on both sides there gradually grew up a well-defined balance of power between the clergy and the laymen, and the people required a recognized place in settling religious disputes. An instance of this occurred in Maryland when, in response to repeated appeals from the clergy, the Bishop of London decided to consecrate a Suffragan-Bishop for the Colonies, and invited Maryland to elect such a person and send him to England to receive the Episcopate. An excellent clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Colebatch was elected; but when the people heard of this plan they were vehement in opposition because they were afraid of the power and circumstance of a bishop in their midst; they appealed to the courts and secured a writ of *ne exeat* so that Mr. Colebatch's departure from the Colony was prevented. It may here be noted that probably the underlying reason for the failure to send out a bishop to America was the opposition of the laity. The need for completing the Episcopal system was great. The Church was suffering from lack of proper oversight; many rites and ceremonies of the Church were in abeyance, notably confirmation and ordination; and from the side of efficient administration it was disastrous not to have a full organization. These facts were recognized both in England and in the Colonies; but the laymen in America were, whether rightly or wrongly, opposed to this step and they prevented its realization. The Rev. William White of Philadelphia, speaking of the colonial period, said: "There cannot be produced an instance of laymen in America, unless in the very infancy of the settlements, soliciting the introduction of a bishop. It was probably by a great majority of them thought an hazardous experiment."[1] If, on the other hand, they had agreed with the clergy and enthusiastically asked for bishops it is more than likely that some one of the many plans for granting the Episcopate to the colonies would have been successful.

[1] *Historical Notes and Documents*, vol. iii., p. 426.

It may be said, then, that up to the time of the Revolution, from the pioneer conditions of colonial life and from the political trend towards representative government, in a normal way and in harmony with the spirit of the Colonies, the laymen became important factors in the Church, and often exercised supreme control. They knew American needs and conditions better than the English clergymen who came over to settle in the parishes. The Revolution did not tend to decrease their power. Many of the clergy, especially in the North, were loyalists, and returned to England, leaving the parishes entirely in the hands of the laymen, who for the most part were loyal to the American cause.

When the political ties with England were broken and independence secured, the Episcopal churches dependent on the mother country for much of their life were in a feeble and anomalous condition. Many of them had been missions of the Church of England, and now they were cut off from this sustaining care, with only slight cohesion among themselves. The problem of survival and organization was a pressing one. But this was taken up by the laymen and the remaining clergy with promptness, and no lack of faith. It gradually dawned upon them that a great opportunity was presented to lay the foundations of a national church, and to adapt themselves to American conditions. Conventions were held in the various Colonies to bind together the scattered fragments. One of the earliest of these conventions was held at Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland, on November 9, 1780. There were three clergymen present and twenty-four laymen, three laymen being invited from each parish: thus the principle of lay representation was first recognized. Further, this convention first adopted the name which was to be applied to the whole church: "On motion of the Secretary it was proposed that the Church known in the province as Protestant be called 'The Protestant Episcopal Church,' and it was so adopted." The first meeting held in Philadelphia in 1784 had delegates from

the vestries of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church. Very significant was the "Declaration of certain fundamental Rights," set forth by the Church in Maryland in 1783 wherein is contained the article "That it is the duty of the said Church, when duly organized, constituted, and represented in a Synod or Convention of the different orders of her Ministry and People, to revise her Liturgy, Forms of Prayer, and public worship in order to adopt the same to the late Revolution and other circumstances of America."[1]

Here was the formal assertion of the rights of the laymen as the representatives of the people to take a vital part in the formation of the new organization. This policy was not adopted on the grounds of expediency but was defended on ecclesiastical grounds as well. Dr. William White, one of the great statesmen of the Church in this formative period, in his pamphlet "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," published in 1783, quotes Hooker as saying, "In matters of God . . . it were unnatural not to think the pastors and bishops of our souls, a great deal more fit than men of secular trades and callings— howbeit, when all that the wisdom of all sorts can do is done for the devising of laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigor of law." Dr. White goes on to say, speaking of the election of bishops, that "The power of electing a superior order of ministers ought to be in the clergy and laity together, they being both interested in the choice. In England, the bishops are appointed by the civil authority. . . . The primitive churches were generally supplied by popular election; even in the city of Rome the privilege of electing the bishop continued with the people to the tenth or eleventh century."

A meeting of great importance in arranging for a convention of the whole church was that held at New Brunswick, N. J., on May 11, 1784, when a voluntary group of men met

[1] *Historical Notes and Documents*, vol. iii., p. 24.

with the members of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows to see how its financial affairs had withstood the shock of war. It was fortunate in the first place that there were laymen members of this corporation and this insured their presence, for they were to discuss matters of concern to the whole church. Besides it was the avowed intention of those who organized this conference to deal with subjects other than the relief of widows. The Rev. Abraham Beach a wise and thoughtful man in arranging for the meeting wrote: "Invite all the clergymen of the Episcopal Church, and perhaps you may think it proper to invite respectable characters of the laity as matters of general concern to the church may probably be discussed." This meeting decided that those present "be requested to correspond with each other and other persons for the purpose of forming a Continental Representation of the Episcopal Church and for the better management of the concerns of the said Church." Thus was launched the idea that resulted in the first General Convention of the Church with delegates from the different sections of the country.

The Conference that followed this met in New York on October 6, 1784; and among the Fundamental Principles adopted were two worthy of mention in this connection:

"That the Episcopal Church in each State send Deputies to the Convention consisting of clergy and laity;

"That clergy and laity assembled in Convention shall deliberate in one body but shall vote separately, and a concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to any measure."

The laity, however, were not to have power given to them without opposition. The clergy in Connecticut had met together without the laymen and elected Samuel Seabury as their bishop, authorizing him to proceed to England for consecration, and that failing in England, to seek his consecration in Scotland. The clergy in Connecticut not only failed to invite the laymen, but as one of them wrote it is

kept "as a profound secret even from their most intimate friends of the laity."[1] Here we have a decided difference of opinion between the churches in the South and some of those in the North; and it grew to be a vital matter between them. There were many who looked upon the introduction of the laymen into the councils of the Church with alarm, recognizing the novelty of the suggestion. In fact this question threatened to prevent a union of the Episcopal churches in the United States. The Rev. Samuel Parker, a far-seeing man from Massachusetts, wrote to a Connecticut clergyman in 1787: "The great obstacle to a union, I foresee, will be in matters of government. The Southern States have admitted laymen to take part with them; Connecticut has not. They cannot rid themselves of the lay brethren and you will not admit laymen. This will keep you apart."[2]

When Bishop Seabury returned after his consecration in Aberdeen to his diocese of Connecticut he took up the question of the power of the laity with vigor. He wrote, "I cannot conceive that the laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on Bishops and Presbyters. It is incongruous to every idea of Episcopal government"[3]; and again, "Those who are not officers in the Church, *i.e.*, the laity, can have no share of ecclesiastical authority. If the Bishops are not allowed to govern the Church, the Church is not under Episcopal Government; but is under the government of those who govern the bishops."[4] The Rev. Samuel Parker of Massachusetts gives another reason for objecting to lay representation. He explained that "the churches here being most of them without a minister, a representative body chosen by the several churches would consist almost entirely of laymen, and if they are vested with the power of making laws it will be in their power to subject the clergy to what laws they please."[5]

[1] *Historical Notes and Documents*, vol. iii., p. 214.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii., p. 352.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 80.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 72.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 62.

William White, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania, stated the other side of the case with great frankness, and with practical knowledge of the conditions saw that lay co-operation was inevitable. "I know that the introducing of the laity into our scheme is thought exceptional by some of our brethren. In answer I will not pretend any apprehension of the clergy acquiring extravagant powers; although could I forsee such an event it could confirm me in my principle. But under present circumstances I rather expect that without the laity there will be no government at all. . . . In short whatever the clergy alone shall do will be treated as what a congregation may either receive or reject and as not even binding on the dissenting members of their own body. The consequences will at last be, that the several congregations being independent of one another will gradually widen in doctrine and worship, agreeing perhaps in the single circumstance of their requiring Episcopal ordination."[1]

The laity having been so long accustomed to the exercise of power in the Church could not at this late day be dislodged. They were many in number, and in possession of the Church property, and the clergy were few. They were thoroughly imbued with the American principle of representative government, and nothing less would satisfy them in the Church.

Another reason for the prominence of the laity at this time is suggested by a letter written in 1785 in which it is stated that "perhaps you will think we have appointed too many lay gentlemen to the Convention. This was owing to an opinion advanced by the clergy from the country, that it would expedite the removing of any prejudices that may be remaining." What were "the prejudices" here referred to? Doubtless the association of the Episcopal churches with England, the late enemy in the War of the Revolution. It was seen that if the Church was to make its appeal to the American people it must prove that it was to be an American institution conforming to the conditions of American life.

[1] *Historical Notes and Documents*, vol. iii., p. 60.

A church governed by clergy alone and excluding the people from its councils would have been so overwhelmed in its struggle for existence that its survival would have been doubtful. The prejudices were to be removed by the identification of itself with the people to whom it ministered, and the sharing with them of the responsibilities of its policy and maintenance.

An exceedingly interesting layman's rebellion occurred in Massachusetts when the clergy met together to decide important matters without having invited delegates from the parishes. This was in 1789. The clergy had not elected a lay delegate to the approaching General Convention of the whole church; and further had elected a bishop for Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Some of the clergy in Massachusetts agreed with those in Connecticut in the exclusion of the laymen from participation in ecclesiastical decisions. But the laymen of the old Bay State would not submit tamely to such treatment, and they rose in arms and demanded their rights. The laymens' protest was set in motion by the wardens of St. Paul's Church, Newburyport. They sent out a communication to the neighboring churches calling a convention of laymen at Salem. In this circular letter it was set forth that: "We cannot but lament that the churches in these Eastern States had no representation therein, especially as it appeared that an affair of the highest consequence to us came up under their consideration. We mean the election of a bishop to be set over the Church in this and our sister State of New Hampshire. The manner in which that election was conducted, and the profound silence and even secrecy which has been maintained by the reverend actors in it, have given us great concern. . . . We cannot refrain from expressing our opinion that in a matter of that high moment it would have been but a piece of condescension, becoming ministers of Christ to have admitted their brethren of the laity to a participation of their councils. Neither can we divest ourselves of an apprehension

that a system of ecclesiastical government is contemplated in these states not perfectly consistent with that freedom with which it both pleased a merciful God to bless us, and which has been so assiduously supported and cultivated by our sister-churches in the Southern Governments."[1]

In this document there are many important points showing the reasons for the claim of lay recognition and indicating the motives that governed those who urged it. In the matter of the election of a bishop the fear is expressed that he may be not an American bishop but one with the authority granted to him by the clergy alone, thus reproducing on another scale in the new land the methods of the Church of England at home,—methods which the free air of America could hardly sustain. The attempt to transfer the English system into the new republic, with its star chamber secrecy of action on the part of one order of the church was doomed to failure; and those clergy who proposed it did not realize at first the fact that the Revolution applied not only to the State but to the Church. The laymen keenly understood this and enlightened the minds of their spiritual teachers and introduced the far-reaching conception that the Church was not an affair of the clergy but of the whole people. A system "not perfectly consistent with that Freedom with which it hath pleased a merciful God to bless us" is the phrase which illustrates the inevitableness of popular government in the Church. Another interesting point in the statement of the men of Newburyport is that "our sister churches in the Southern Government," have achieved the greater freedom. We have seen that the initiative came from Maryland and Philadelphia and New York for a representative church, and that Connecticut and Massachusetts held out for the power of the clergy. In fact there was a great danger that at one time there would be two Episcopal churches in the land, and an obstacle to the Union was the question of the layman's power. The Southern section of the Church would

[1] *Life of Bishop Bass*, p. 270.

not recede from their position; and the union was finally brought about through the influence of just such laymen as those clear-thinking men of Newburyport. The men reared in the New England town meeting and the Maryland and Virginia patriot helped to create the American Episcopal Church following closely the ideas of representative government found in the American Constitution.

But the laymen of Massachusetts were not all of the mind of the Newburyport men. The warden of Christ Church, Boston, wrote in answer to the circular letter that "it is totally unnecessary for us to nominate or request any lay delegates to represent us in said general convention, but are willing to trust the concerns of this Church with the clerical delegate already appointed." The result of the protest, however, was that Massachusetts adopted the lay voting system; and the bishop elected by the clergy was not consecrated until another convention was held with laymen present and voting. Though they voted for the same man for bishop, Edward Bass, who had previously been elected by the clergy, they had gained their point.

All these questions were finally settled when the union of the churches, North and South, was effected in the General Convention of 1789, when the Constitution adopted contained Article 2, which provided that "The Church in each State shall be entitled to a representative of both clergy and the laity, which representation shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the convention of the State." So the layman's power grew to full maturity and has remained a directing and co-ordinate force in the legislative action of the American Church.

Thus a church arose from the loins of the Church of England, different in polity and government, bringing about a new adjustment in the powers of the bishops and clergy and laymen,—a church in harmony with American traditions and truly representative of the people. Such a radical change was accepted easily because of the conditions of

the time and because of the belief that all the people should have the power of legislation, and be represented in the management of the Church. The church of Christ is a great composite institution and should respond to the will of all, whether bishops, clergy, or laymen.

The same forces that produced the American Constitution, and Government were operative in the formation of the Episcopal Church. The Episcopal neglect on the part of England in the colonial period allowed the free growth of a native church. If there had been American bishops in the pioneer days of the pre-Revolutionary times, it is not probable that the laymen would have had the same power. Too much supervision would have resulted in a greater likeness to English customs and laws. The Episcopal Church received its Prayer Book and Orders from the Church of England, but its polity and government sprang from the American soil. Now the Church is a homogeneous institution compact and representative of the whole people. Whatever its missions may be, it is of the genius of American democracy and is ready to serve through its inherited and acquired discipline and worship. It is an American institution committed to the American ideal of self-government; and presents the first example of a branch of the Anglican communion which gives the laymen a compelling voice in matters of doctrine and worship.

The Ecclesiastical Condition of New York at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century

By

Edward Tanjore Corwin

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF NEW YORK AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By Edward Tanjore Corwin, North Branch, New Jersey

(*The Presidential Address, read December 27, 1911*)

THE decades clustering about the year 1700 were unusually important in reference to the subsequent ecclesiastical history of New York. The previous history of the Church in that province, except during the political episode of the Leisler troubles, had been comparatively tranquil; but in the decades alluded to, new elements were introduced and complications ensued, which modified all former conditions, and caused not a little friction in ecclesiastical affairs down to the Revolution. Nevertheless, new phases of Christian activity were also thereby developed, which became very influential; and the discussions which ensued clarified the atmosphere in reference to the proper relations of Church and State and prepared the way for their separation. In order to get a proper background for the consideration of the period alluded to, permit a brief reference to some antecedent conditions.

During the first half century of the history of the province, or until the English conquest, the Reformed Dutch Church was the controlling ecclesiastical factor. The Dutch, however, cheerfully received into their territory Presbyterians

and Congregationalists from New England, who wished to enjoy a larger degree of liberty in certain minor matters, and gave them patents for large sections of land. We need only refer to the Rev. Francis Doughty, with his congregation from Cohasset, Massachusetts, who located at Newtown, Long Island; and the Rev. Richard Denton, with his congregation from Stamford, Connecticut, who located at Hempstead. Before the Dutch surrender there were already four English villages on Dutch territory toward the west end of Long Island.

> Gravesend was a Baptist community. Flushing, starting as a Presbyterian settlement had later become a community of a great variety of opinions. Newtown was composed chiefly of Independents with a few Presbyterians. Hempstead consisted of Independents, Presbyterians, and Dutch Reformed. A few Puritans had also settled in Westchester. There were Quakers in many places. These were opposed, and even persecuted by Stuyvesant, partly for ignoring his authority, and partly for their alleged fanaticism. These English-speaking churches were already petitioning Stuyvesant to procure them English-speaking ministers through the Classis of Amsterdam, and the Dutch ministers heartily seconded these requests, for they were willing to come under Dutch ecclesiastical authority.

There were also five Independent or Presbyterian churches toward the east end of Long Island. These were Southold, Southampton, Easthampton, and Brookhaven, with Huntington farther west. These were supplied with ministers from New England. There were also, already about a dozen Jewish families in New York City. Stuyvesant and the two Dutch ministers of the city had, indeed, opposed the establishment of a Dutch Lutheran Church, partly because their numbers were too few to support a pastor; partly because

their complaint about a certain clause in the Baptismal formula was believed to be a misapprehension if not a pretence; and partly because they did not wish to lose them from their congregation. All these reasons appear in the correspondence of the period.

During the short period of the Dutch sway there had been established about a dozen Dutch Reformed churches, including one in New Jersey and one in Delaware. These had been served by sixteen ministers, seven of whom were in service at the time of the surrender. To save bloodshed, the Dutch ministers literally compelled Stuyvesant to surrender without a blow. In return, most liberal terms of capitulation were granted them. Among these was one giving the Dutch full liberty in their mode of worship, and church discipline. This became an important factor in later provincial legislation. It was also stipulated that all public buildings should remain in their former uses.[1] This secured to the Dutch of New York City the continued use of their church building in the fort—although thenceforth a British fort. The chaplain of the British forces having no building in which to hold services, it was arranged that after the Dutch service each Sunday, the British chaplain should conduct the Anglican service in this Dutch church, and this was all the foothold for Anglican services in New York for the next thirty years. Of all denominations there were established in New Netherland, before the English conquest, twenty-one churches, Dutch Reformed, Independent, and Presbyterian; and these had been served by twenty-four ministers, of whom a dozen remained in service at the time of the surrender. The support of the Dutch churches by the West Indian Company having been now cut off, the English governors, for several years thereafter, allowed a special ecclesiastical tax to be imposed upon the people for the support of their ministers.

While the articles of surrender gave the Dutch Reformed

[1] *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, Albany 1901–1905*, i., 558.

churches a certain legal standing, the question at once arose, what was henceforth their relation to the State Church of Holland. That relation was certainly modified by the change of political sovereignty, but it was not clearly defined. Were these American Dutch churches still an integral part of the State Church of Holland, when their ministers and members had become subjects of the English King? The Church of Holland could not enforce any decisions on the subjects of another nation. And what, also, was the relation of these Dutch churches to English ecclesiastical law? They had never stood in any relation to the Church of England, and could not, therefore, legally be classed among dissenters. Then also, the Dutch Reformed and the French Reformed, with all the varieties of English dissenters, constituted for the first half century of English rule, more than ninety per cent. of the population, and during the last half century of English rule, at least seventy-five per cent. of the population. Owing to these complicated conditions, the relations of Church and State in New York became involved in peculiar difficulties and gave rise to more serious troubles than in any other colony.

It was, however, perfectly natural that the English ecclesiastical authorities should desire to extend their Anglican Church into all their colonies; not only into New England, as was the case, but ultimately into this predominantly Dutch Colony of New York. This would be the normal governmental policy. But while such would be officially the character of the Secret Instructions to the successive governors, nevertheless, such a policy was hampered to a greater or less degree by the well-known Roman Catholic proclivities of Charles II., and of James, the Duke of York. It was because of the intrigues of Charles II. in the direction of Romanism that Parliament enacted the Test Act in 1673, attaching it to a money bill which compelled the King to sign it or go without the cash. This at once deprived James, as a Catholic, of all his offices in England, but did not

yet affect official positions in America. Therefore it was possible for James to appoint a Catholic governor over New York. This was Thomas Dongan, personally a most excellent man. And it was this same intriguing spirit in James, which was the secret of all the boasted toleration which he now granted to New York. He permitted a popular assembly to be established (1683) which passed a bill known as "The Charter of Liberties." This declared that the supreme legislative power, under the Duke, resided in the Governor, the Council, and the PEOPLE; and that all churches then existing in New York (and these were the Reformed Dutch, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, and the Lutheran), were "privileged churches," having perfect liberty of worship and discipline; but then, there was artfully added, "*Provided*, also, that all other Christian churches that shall hereafter come and settle within this province, shall have the same privileges."[1]

Now this last sentence was evidently urged upon the assembly by Dongan, in obedience to the Duke, for the purpose of admitting Romanism. Of course, at the present day, we believe in the equality of all sects before the law, but we are presenting the matter under the circumstances of that day. Religious toleration was ostensibly perfect for a short time in New York, under Dongan, but with an ulterior purpose in view. For hardly had this Charter of Liberties been passed and transmitted to England and signed by the Duke, when Charles II. died (1685), and James became King, and New York from a proprietary province became a royal province. As King, James quickly annulled the Charter of Liberties,[2] which acknowledged the PEOPLE as part of the government; and soon after, he attempted to annul all laws in England, including the Test Act, which stood in the way of his purpose to re-establish Romanism. This led to his speedy downfall, and the installation of the Dutch William, with Mary, his wife, the daughter of James, upon the English

[1] *Ecc. Records of N. Y.*, ii., 865. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 897.

throne. This circumstance must have been very pleasing not only to the Dutch ministers and people, but to the whole population of New York. Nevertheless, in the confusion resulting from belated despatches concerning the English Revolution, and the unwillingness of the populace to endure the continued rule of the creatures of James, the Government of New York fell into the hands of a demagogue, Leisler by name, who, under the pretence of holding the place for William and Mary, and proclaiming himself the champion of Protestantism, denounced all who opposed him as papists and traitors, although all the ministers and educated classes were against him. But he had seized the fort, and the soldiers stood by him, and a reign of terror, with robberies and murders and exiles, prevailed for two years. But with the arrival of Sloughter, William's first Governor, and the speedy execution of Leisler (1691), the normal policy of the English Government to establish the Anglican Church in her colonies was restored; and now we come to the decades clustering about the year 1700.

William directed Governor Sloughter to restore the Assembly (1691), and ordered that the Test Act should now be introduced into New York. This required all officials to swear that they did not believe in transubstantiation; that they believed that the adoration of Mary or other saints, and the sacrifice of the Mass as now practised, to be idolatrous and superstitious; and that they indulged in no mental reservations in taking this oath. This Assembly also passed a law respecting liberty of conscience, which declared that no Christians should be molested or called in question for any differences of opinion on religious matters, who did not disturb the peace; and that they might freely meet according to their respective persuasions; but that this Act does not give liberty to Romanists to exercise their worship, contrary to the laws of England.[1]

[1] *Ecc. Records of N. Y.*, ii., 1012, 1016.

Governor Sloughter now proposed to his Council the enactment of a Ministerial Maintenance Bill for every town in the province of forty families or more, and such an Act was prepared; but upon its presentation to the Assembly, "not answering the intent of the House," as the journal says, it was rejected, and another bill was ordered to be prepared. But nothing more is heard of this bill.[1] The excitement connected with the execution of Leisler shortly after, engrossed every mind. The Governor also died, and the Deputy-Governor (Ingoldsby) did nothing in reference to such a bill for almost a year. A week before the arrival of Governor Fletcher, however (August 23, 1692), it was

> "Ordered, That a bill be drawn for the better observance of the Lord's Day, and that each respective town within this province have a minister or reader, to read divine service,"[2]

but the Assembly, understanding the ultimate object in view, was at heart opposed to this whole business, and they purposely ignored or delayed such bills as long as possible.

Governor Fletcher's Commission authorized him to induct all ministers into their ecclesiastical charges. His Secret Instructions imply by their phraseology, as we might expect, his duty of developing the Anglican Church, at least among those who belonged to that communion; but they leave somewhat open the question whether he should press the Anglican Church upon dissenters, or those of other nationalities like the Dutch and French. They refer to the use of the Book of Common Prayer; to the administration of the sacraments according to the rites of the Church of England; but then, also, to the proper care of the churches already built there; and to the proper maintenance that should be assigned to every minister.[3] But there was not at this time an Anglican church in the whole province, nor for five years after-

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1013–15. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1039. [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 1033–37.

ward; nor an Anglican minister, except the chaplain of the troops. The order that no minister be preferred to any benefice without a certificate from the Bishop of London, seems to imply the limitation of these Instructions to Anglican ministers; for there were already at this time forty-three non-Anglican churches in New York and New Jersey, and about a dozen ministers in actual service, and none of these had ever had any relation to the Anglican communion. The Governor is then further instructed to give all encouragement to the Church of England, so that "the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London may take place as far as *conveniently* may be." But liberty of conscience is to be permitted to all persons, except papists, so long as they give no offence.

Acting under these Instructions, which, considering the character of the population, were necessarily somewhat indefinite, Governor Fletcher recommended (October 24, 1692), that the Assembly make provision for the support and encouragement of an able ministry, and for a strict observance of the Lord's Day.[1] But the Assembly did nothing at all, simply ignoring the Governor's suggestion. In the meantime, however, the Governor assisted some of the Dutch ministers in recovering the arrearages of their salaries which had fallen behind during the Leisler troubles.

While the Governor was striving to secure a Ministry Bill by which he hoped to establish the Anglican Church, the Dutch church of the city procured a site and proceeded to erect a costly and substantial stone church. The cost of this building was $27,671, a very large sum for those days. When the building was ready for use, the silver-toned bell and several escutcheons which had been hanging on the walls of the "Church in the Fort" were removed to this new edifice, which was opened for service on the last day of the year 1692. It was immediately crowded and soon became too small. The finishing of the tower was deferred until after they had procured their charter. This resolve indicates

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1045.

their determination to succeed in securing their civil and ecclesiastical independence. They relinquished their old church edifice in the fort without compensation to the sole use of the Anglican chaplain.[1]

At the opening of the next Assembly, five months later (March 23, 1693), the Governor referred to his former recommendation of a Ministry Bill, and complained that they had taken no notice of it.[2] He now again urged the passage of such a bill. The Assembly accordingly ordered (April 1, 1693), that the committee formerly appointed to draft such a bill proceed to its preparation. But ten days later, the Governor rebuked the Assembly because nothing had yet been done.[3] He told them that they were big with the privileges of Englishmen and Magna Charta, and that the same law provided for the religion of the Church of England, but they were postponing its consideration. He hoped that at the next session they would do something effectual. The Assembly was ready to act if they could have some guarantee that the ministers to be chosen could be of any Protestant denomination; but the Governor's references to the Church of England in his speeches did not facilitate the accomplishment of his desires.

At the next session, half a year later (September 12, 1693) the Governor again urged this business, and also that they make provision for the erection of a new Anglican chapel on the site of the old Dutch church in the fort. A Ministry Bill was finally prepared,[4] but it was greatly limited in its scope and character from what the Governor had expected. As to its scope, it did not apply to the whole province as the Governor had proposed, but to only four counties out of the ten into which the province was divided, namely, to New York, Westchester, Queens, and Richmond. In these were found most of the English-speaking people of the province, excepting Suffolk County which was remote and strongly

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, i., 743; ii., 828, 880, 952–954, 996, 1030–35, 1046, 1108, 1123. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1048. [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 1054. [4] *Ibid.*, ii., 1074.

dissenting; while Kings County, and those along the Hudson above Westchester were almost entirely Dutch. These, with Suffolk, had managed to secure their excision from the bill. The bill was also limited in its character. It was entirely unsectarian, giving no precedence to one religious body over another, and it also refrained from giving the Governor the power of induction and suspension of ministers. It was reluctantly passed and sent to the Governor and his Council for their concurrence. He at once returned it with the request that it be amended with the following words:

"And [such minister to be] presented to the Governor to be approved and collated."[1] He also rather peremptorily ordered the Assembly to despatch this business quickly as they were a great charge to the country. The Assembly did despatch the business quickly, replying, that they had had due regard to his *pious* intentions in this whole business, and they rejected his proposed amendment. This greatly exasperated the Governor, and he at once broke up the Assembly in an angry speech.

Under such circumstances was the famous Ministry Bill passed. It declared that there should "be called, inducted, and established a good, sufficient Protestant minister" in each of the specified districts, six in all, to be paid by a tax on the inhabitants generally; that the freeholders in each district should meet at a certain time, and elect ten vestrymen and two church-wardens; that these vestrymen with the justices in each district should lay the tax, and the constable should collect it. Fines were to be inflicted on these officials for refusal to act or neglect of duty. The church-wardens were to keep the accounts and pay the minister quarterly in cash or country produce. This Town Vestry was also made the authority to call the ministers for the respective districts.[2]

Now it is absolutely certain that this Ministry Bill did not

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1075. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1076–79.

establish any particular Christian body. The governor, however, soon after, wrote to the Board of Trade.

> "I have got them to establish a fund for a ministry in the city of New York and three more counties, which could never be obtained before, [they] being a mixed people and of different persuasions in religion."[1]

While this language was not technically false, yet it was intended to convey an impression contrary to the facts, namely, that the Anglican Church was established in New York by that bill. The Governor also now attempted to carry out his plans upon such an interpretation of the bill, but he was completely baffled in his efforts for three years, until he had first given a charter to the Dutch church of the city (1696), which gave them complete ecclesiastical independence.

First Election under the Ministry Act

For look at the operation of this Act, first, in the city of New York. In accordance with its requirements, the freeholders of the city met in January, 1694, and elected ten vestrymen and two church-wardens. Of these, nine were non-Anglicans and only three were of the Church of England. They voted to levy a tax of £100, for the maintenance of "a good, sufficient Protestant minister" according to the language of the Act. The question at once arose as to what persuasion the proposed minister should be. The minority wished to call an Anglican: whereupon the majority passed a resolution "that a dissenting minister be called to officiate and have the care of souls for this city." The Governor refused to agree to this and nothing was accomplished.[2]

The Rev. John Miller, the chaplain of the troops was by no means a disinterested observer of these proceedings. A few weeks later, therefore (February 16, 1694), he demanded,

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1084.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1092, 1095–97.

"by virtue of his license from the Bishop of London, an induction into the *living* lately established." His demands were submitted to the Council and unanimously rejected. This Town Vestry now resolved not to proceed with the levying of the tax until a minister was actually appointed. Thus matters stood for the remainder of the first year under the Ministry Act. The Town Vestry and the Governor were in decided opposition.

Second Election under the Ministry Act

The freeholders again met in January, 1695, and proceeded to a choice of vestrymen and church-wardens, with the result that eleven non-Anglicans were elected and only one Anglican. Governor Fletcher now threatened to prosecute this body if they refused any longer to carry out his wishes. A motion was therefore made to call William Vesey, who was reader, just then, to a little band of Episcopalians at Hempstead, Long Island. He was called, *nemine contradicente*. Jeremiah Tothill was the one Anglican in the vestry, and there can hardly be a doubt that he made the motion, and that his was the only vote, and hence the form of the record. At any rate, the conditions were such that the Governor did not dare to prosecute the members as he had threatened, and the call was not made. To strengthen themselves in their position, this second Town Vestry now sought advice directly from the Assembly as to the meaning of the Act. The Assembly answered that the bill was unsectarian and that a dissenter might be called. Thereupon the Governor rebuked the Assembly for presuming to interpret the law, which, he claimed, was the privilege only of the courts.[1]

Yet the Governor was evidently weakening. He could not fail to understand his helplessness before the overwhelming majority, and his state of mind was quickly perceived by others. We accordingly read in the minutes of the Dutch

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1112–15.

church of New York just at this juncture (April 18, 1695), "Since all appearances are now favorable, endeavors shall again be made to obtain the [act of] incorporation." A committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of Stephen Van Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, Brandt Schuyler, and Jacobus Van Cortlandt, all military men and members of the Dutch church, to urge the matter of a charter. Efforts for such an instrument had been made before under Governor Dongan, and these men now again present an earnest petition for this object, for the protection of their accumulating property, and for the preservation of the church privileges granted them at the surrender of the province. They knew the Governor needed many concessions from the Assembly, most of whose members were of the Dutch Church, before he could carry out his wishes in behalf of the Anglican Church. And although the present petition was not immediately granted, there can be no doubt that this committee and the Governor understood each other's positions; that no concessions could be expected by him, until they had secured assurance of the complete independence of their own church from all governmental interference.[1]

Third Election under the Ministry Act

Owing to the conciliation which the Governor was beginning to manifest, the freeholders at their third election in January, 1696, chose six Anglicans and six non-Anglicans. This Town Vestry now agreed to levy and collect a tax for "a good, sufficient Protestant minister," to the amount of £100, and to maintain him *for one year.*[2]

It was, however, becoming evident to the friends of the Anglican communion that their church could not be well developed, if at all, through the instrumentality of a merely Civil or Town Vestry, elected by all the freeholders of the city. They, therefore, now began to organize more or less

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1116–17, 1127–28. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1133–34.

formally among themselves, and determined to build a church edifice for themselves in the city. This band of Episcopalians presented a petition to the Governor (March 19, 1696) to be allowed to buy ground for a site for a church and solicit contributions toward building the same. These petitioners also say that they had met with great encouragement from several good Protestants, evidently meaning persons outside their own communion; for the wealth of the city was in the hands of the Dutch. Their petition was, of course, granted.[1]

And it was just at this juncture that the Dutch church secured their charter; for they now again pressed upon the Governor *their* rights and *his* duty; and, at length, however reluctant, he signed their charter (May 11, 1696). This had been drawn up by the best legal talent of the day, and secured to them their civil and ecclesiastical rights in every respect. Thenceforth, the opposition of the Dutch to the Governor's efforts to the calling of an Anglican minister under the Ministry Act subsided; for the Governor's Secret Instructions, giving him power to induct all ministers, were nullified, so far as the Dutch church of the City of New York was concerned, by its charter, which said: "That the patronage, advowson, donation, or presentation of and to said church . . . shall appertain and belong to and be hereby vested in the Elders and Deacons . . . and their successors forever."[2] Having this precedent and following this example, other Dutch churches obtained similar charters during the whole colonial period, although charters were repeatedly refused to churches of all other denominations except Episcopal churches.

The Anglicans, so soon as they had obtained their plot of ground on Broadway—the beautiful site of the present Trinity Church—began to build their church edifice, partly at their own expense, but largely by the help of the citizens generally and of the Governor personally, without asking

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1134. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1136–64, 1151, 1274.

for official aid; for the Assembly's refusal to give any aid toward the building of the Anglican chapel in the fort, notwithstanding repeated requests of the Governor, discouraged any thought of help from that body. Nevertheless the Governor issued a special proclamation (July 26, 1696) permitting "The Managers of the said Building" to solicit and collect funds for their purpose.[1]

The Town Vestry now (November 2, 1696) sent an invitation (not yet a call) to William Vesey before mentioned, to officiate as minister and have the care of souls in New York City as "a good, sufficient Protestant minister," according to the terms of the Ministry Act. He accepted of the offer and speedily sailed for England to receive holy orders from the Bishop of London. To further show their good feeling and willingness now to please the Governor, the Town Vestry loaned Mr. Vesey £95, toward his proposed journey to England, out of the £100, which they had collected under the Act.[2]

But there was as yet no Anglican ecclesiastical body in existence in New York. On the same day, therefore, that the invitation was given to Mr. Vesey by that Civil Vestry, the friends of the Anglican communion chose certain "Managers of the Church of England"[3] for New York City, and this was the beginning of the ecclesiastical life proper of Trinity Church. There has been not a little confusion about the relations of the Town Vestry, which was a purely civil body, and which continued to hold the purse until the American Revolution, and the official representatives of the church as such. These "Managers of the Church of England," elected on November 2, 1696, by Anglicans only, were, a year and a half later (June 30, 1698), transformed into the Vestry of Trinity Church.[4]

Mr. Vesey was received in England with great kindness,

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1168, 1180–81; Berrian, 321–325.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1174–76. [3] *Ibid.*, ii., 1176–77. [4] Dix, i., 110, 111.

and much attention was shown him. He had graduated at Harvard in 1693. Merton College, Oxford, now gave him the degree of Master of Arts. He was ordained a deacon on July 25, 1697, by the Bishop of London, and a priest on August 2d. He returned to New York in December, 1697.

During Mr. Vesey's absence, those recently appointed "Managers of the Church of England" applied for and obtained a charter for Trinity Church. Their petition to the Governor for this instrument is dated May 6, 1697. This was drawn up by special legal talent, and evidently under the Governor's directions and influence, in order to carry out, if possible, his personal determination of what the Ministry Bill should mean, in opposition to the meaning of the Assembly which had passed it. For in this petition they refer to that bill as if intended solely for the Anglican Church, several times using the expression "The Church of England as now established by law." They also request of the Governor that a certain piece of land near the Governor's residence, and also the yearly maintenance of the £100, referred to in that bill, may, in their charter, be assigned to Trinity Church![1]

The charter also was already written and at hand, and all these things asked for were already incorporated in that instrument. The money to be raised under the provision of the Ministry Act was therein also definitely assigned to the perpetual use of Trinity Church! and the phrase "The Church of England as now established by law" occurs no less than twelve times in this charter. Thus did Governor Fletcher and his lawyers try to force his perverted interpretation of the Ministry Bill into this charter, and the same phrase was inserted in many other legal documents connected with ecclesiastical matters, and with altogether unnecessary frequency, if it were a fact. But this was the work of politicians, not of the Church, and was inspired largely from the then yet current views of the union of Church and State.

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1178–81.

The incorporation of the several items alluded to in Trinity's charter might very properly have been objected to, if then made known; but the Dutch church being itself independent by its charter, let the matter pass without further dispute.[1]

Domine Selyns in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam in September, 1696, refers to the benefits his church anticipates from its charter, and that their former anxieties are quieted thereby. He then thus continues:

> "In the country places there are many English preachers, mostly from New England, having been ordained there. They have been in a large measure supplied by the High School at Cambridge. In July last, ten were graduated in philosophy and eight in higher studies. There are two English [Anglican] churches here. One is already built in the fort [the Anglican chapel]; the other is in course of erection in the city [Trinity Church]. Both are constructed of stone and are neat edifices. All this has been done since the building of our new church here. There are two Episcopal ministers here,[2] who temporarily preach in our church, respectively, after my morning and afternoon service. With them we live in most friendly relations. Domine Daillé, recently the French minister here, has been called to Boston and ministers in the French church there. Domine Perrot [Peiret,] a man of great learning, formerly a minister in France, now serves the church of God here. Domine Morpe [Morpo] labors in the more distant places in the country. Domine Brodet [Bondet,] who was formerly Professor at Salmur [Saumur], and who has lived and preached for eight years among the Indians, has been called to New Rochelle, five hours from here, where he gives great

[1] *Ecc. Records of N. Y.*, ii., 1136–64; iii., 1592.

[2] These were the two chaplains, Edward Mott, 1696–1704, and Symon Smith, 1696–1700.

satisfaction by his gifts and holy life. Thus the church of God moves prosperously forward on the waves of the New World."[1]

The induction of Mr. Vesey by Governor Fletcher, as the first rector of Trinity Church, took place in the new Dutch church on Christmas day, 1697, two Dutch ministers, Selyns and Nucella, signing the act as witnesses. Mr. Vesey continued to conduct the Anglican services therein for about three months, until his own church was fit for occupation.[2] Trinity Church was the first Anglican Church in New York or New Jersey, and it was five years after this before any other Anglican churches existed in either of these provinces, or nine years after the enactment of the Ministry Bill.

Colonel Morris, a well known churchman of the period, in writing in 1712 about the origin of the Ministry Act, among other things, says that,

> "Speaker Graham, who had the drawing of their bills, prescribed a method of induction, and so managed it that it would not do well for the dissenters, and but lamely for the Church, though it would do with the help of the Governor, and that was all; but it was the most that could be got at that time. . . ."
>
> "The Act to settle the Church is very loosely worded, which as things stood then, when it was made, could not be avoided, the dissenters claiming the benefit of it as [well as] we; and the act without much [w]resting, will admit a construction in their favor as well as ours." . . . "There is no comparison in our numbers; and they can, on the death of an incumbent, call persons of their own persuasion in every place but the city of New York; and if, by force, the salary is taken from them, and paid to the minister of the Church, it may

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1172. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1185–87, 1218–21.

> be the means of subsisting those ministers, but they wont make many converts." . . . "I believe it [the Church] had at this day been in much better condition, had there been no Act in her favor; for in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania where there is no Act in her favor, there is four times the number of churchmen than there is in the province of New York; and they are so, most of them, upon principle. . . ."[1]

An effort was subsequently made to prove that the Church of England automatically established herself wherever English rule extended.[2] But whatever may be thought of the theory, it was never an accomplished fact, as the history of New England and Pennsylvania shows, as well as New York and New Jersey. Blackstone also says that the colonies only carry with them so much of English law as is applicable to their situation and condition. "For," says he, "the artificial distinctions," among which he mentions, "the mode of maintenance of the established clergy and the jurisdiction of spiritual courts" are not in force in the colonies; that "colonies are not bound by Acts of Parliament unless they are specially named." "Also, only so much of English laws are applicable as are conformable to their principles."[3]

At this time the Dutch church of the city was flourishing with about six hundred members. Domine Selyns also reported the names of sixty-five of his catechumens who could repeat all the Psalms[4]; and notwithstanding all the strife of the times, Selyns found time to compose an elegant Latin poem in honor of Mather's *Magnalia*.

Fletcher was recalled in 1698 under many serious charges[5] and was succeeded by Lord Bellomont. He was directed to investigate and report on Fletcher's administration. He criticised severely pretty much everything that Fletcher had done, both in State and Church. He disapproved of the

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, iii., 1909–10. [2] *Ibid.*, iii., 1950–53.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 1080–82; v., 3427–32. [4] *Ibid.*, ii., 1234. [5] *Ibid.*, ii., 1277–78.

Ministry Bill, or at least of Fletcher's interpretation of it, since it tended to keep the people divided in their separate nationalities instead of unifying them.[1] He disapproved of the charter of the Dutch church, for it seemed to set up a petty jurisdiction to fly in the face of the government.[2] He criticised the charter of Trinity Church, declaring that there were grave defects in it. That church, therefore, became very anxious about the validity of their titles to property. A committee was appointed to investigate concerning any legal defects in their charter, and if necessary to take steps to have their titles confirmed by the Assembly. Suits were actually begun against the church under Bellomont's direction, but were stopped by order of the King.[3] The result was, however, that a few years later (1704) Trinity Church deemed it prudent to be re-incorporated by an Act of the Assembly.[4] This Act confirmed their right to properties already acquired, and gave power to the Church Vestry, instead of the Town Vestry, to call their ministers, to prevent possible embarrassments in the call; for the Town Vestry might call a dissenter. They were still, however, dependent on the Town Vestry for the salary, which this new Act of Incorporation ordered to be raised to £160. The legality of this, in such an Act, might have been questioned. But the gift of the Queen's Farm (the famous Anneke Jans Bogardus property) to Trinity Church gradually improved their financial condition, and ultimately proved the source of their great wealth.[5]

During Bellomont's administration, the citizens of Queens and Suffolk counties presented a petition that dissenting ministers might be settled according to the Assembly's repeated interpretation of the Ministry Act; but this request was denied by the Governor.[6] The Assembly, however, passed a general law for the support of ministers of all

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1225.
[2] *Ibid.*, ii., 1274.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii., 1222, 1339; Dix, i., 121–2.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii., 1558, 1563–66.
[5] *Ibid.*, iii., 1597–98.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii., 1392–93.

denominations, and for the building at public expense, of all churches and schoolhouses. The Council desired to concur, but the Governor doubted his authority, under his Instructions, to sign such a bill; but he was willing to join in a general petition to the King in its favor, and such a petition was sent.[1] William would undoubtedly have favored such a law, but we hear no more of it. As was common in such matters, the request would be submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities, and they no doubt, opposed it. The propriety and right of such a law are evident from the statistics of the churches in the year 1700, which are as follows:

Reformed Dutch churches	29
Presbyterian and Independent	13
Reformed French	4
Lutheran	2
Reformed German	1
Episcopalian	1
Total	50

During Bellomont's administration the severe penal law against Roman Catholics was enacted (August 3, 1700). This represented the culmination of the anti-Catholic feeling of the province, resulting from the intrigues of James both as duke and king. It commanded all priests to leave the province within three months. The celebration of the Mass, or the residence of any priest within the province, was forbidden under pain of perpetual imprisonment, and upon escape and recapture, of death. There was a fine of $500 for harboring a priest. Shipwrecked priests must at once report themselves to the officials and obey their directions about leaving. The Roman Catholic Church was extinct in New York from 1700 until the close of the American Revolution.[2]

Suffice it to say that Bellomont on account of his favoring

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1299, 1302. [2] *Ibid.*, iii., 1368–70, 1449–52.

the Leislerian party, and by many arbitrary and even repulsive acts, came into most serious antagonisms with all the better elements of the province. The ministers were unanimously against him. Details would carry us too far afield for the limits of this paper. He died suddenly on March 5, 1701.[1]

He was succeeded by Lord Cornbury. In the same year (1701), through the zeal of the Rev. Thomas Bray, that great missionary society, styled "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," was founded. This society became the principal support of the early Anglican ministers, in New York and New Jersey down to the American Revolution. Great progress and success came thereby to the Anglican Church in America. It sent Rev. George Keith on a mission to inquire into the spiritual condition of the colonies, and to arouse them to a greater interest in religion. Rev. John Talbot, the chaplain of the ship on which Keith sailed, was so impressed with his mission that he enlisted with him as an assistant, and twice they traversed the country from New England to the Carolinas, preaching in many places and exciting considerable enthusiasm. The English Society was greatly impressed with the importance of the American field, and determined at once to enter it. They sent not a few missionaries to the Indians, and during the first decade of their existence, they sent seventeen missionaries to New York and New Jersey, and founded ten churches and many out-stations. Before the American Revolution it had sent fifty-nine ministers to New York and forty-four to New Jersey, one hundred and three in all, and started from thirty to forty churches. In their zeal they also had the Prayer Book translated into Dutch in 1709–10, with a second edition in 1713–14. Translations were also made into French and German.[2]

[1] See *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, ii., 1222–1441.

[2] See *Digest of S. P. G. Records*, 52–78, 854–856.

This Society was no doubt somewhat misled by the assertions of Fletcher that the Ministry Bill established the Church of England and made provision for the support of exclusively Anglican ministers. The Town Vestries were composed of men of various denominations; not unfrequently, as might have been expected from the character of the population, all of the members of a Town Vestry were non-Anglicans. They often, therefore, according to the language of the bill and the well-known intent of the Assembly which framed the bill, called and supported dissenting ministers. Under such circumstances there was no relief for the Anglican minister except by a suit at law. Not a few lawsuits unhappily occurred, which were decided sometimes in favor of the Anglicans and sometimes in favor of the dissenters. Amendments were not unfrequently proposed by later English Governors to enforce the Ministry Bill in the Anglican sense, by enacting sterner penalties for obstinate or delinquent officials; and such amendments, although necessarily offensive to the Assembly, were often allowed to pass by a minority vote, *nemine contradicente*, as the Journal expresses it. On the other hand, the Assembly several times repealed the Ministry Bill entire, and sent their action to the Governor and Council for their concurrence; but uniformly, the bill was smothered in the Council. In due time the Assembly sent a committee to the Council to inquire what had become of their bill, but they could obtain no satisfaction. The Journals of the Assembly and the Council, printed some years ago, show many examples of such occurrences; but these facts have hardly heretofore been referred to by church historians.

Governor Cornbury, while not disturbing the already settled ministers, attempted to compel all new-comers to obtain licenses from him. These licenses declared that ministerial appointments came from the Governor, with liberty to exercise ministerial functions only during the Governor's pleasure. A few tamely submitted, but

others stoutly resisted. Cornbury's supercilious conduct toward domines Beys and Antonides is elaborately described in the journals and correspondence of the period.[1] Bèys and the church of Kingston refused to ask or even accept a license from him. The people of Kings County emphatically denied his right to license ministers for them. This struggle with Cornbury lasted for two or three years. His own Council was against him and legal opinions were written against his arbitrary conduct. Finally he was obliged to yield. His illegal seizure of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, and his imprisonment of the two Presbyterian ministers, Makemie and Hampton, for daring to preach without his license, are well-known incidents. They were tried but acquitted by the jury, although the legal expenses of the suit were extorted from them.[2] At length, all parties rose up against Cornbury, Anglicans, Presbytertians, and Dutch Reformed. The Anglicans begged for a better Governor. The Presbyterians, with the citizens generally, united in a petition to the Queen for the revocation of his commission.[3] The Dutch prepared an elaborate paper, reviewing their rights under the terms of the surrender, depicting the arbitrary and illegal conduct of Cornbury, and sent a sum of nearly $500, to the Classis of Amsterdam, to be used for legal expenses in England, in behalf of their rights, and to secure the Governor's recall.[4] His commission was revoked; but before he could leave the country the merchants had him arrested for debt, and he was detained in prison for five months until he received money from England to satisfy his creditors.

Meantime, the arbitrary acts and oppressions of Cornbury drove a large number of Dutch families into New Jersey (1702–10). They settled on the banks of the Raritan and its tributaries and founded many churches, and that portion of New Jersey for the next century and a half was known as

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, iii., 1615–19.
[2] *Ibid.*, iii., 1669–73.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii., 1671–73.
[4] *Ibid.*, iii., 1657–72, 1620–1712.

"The Garden of the Dutch Church," and is now the seat of their principal institutions.

We can only just allude to the arrival of three thousand Palatines with Governor Hunter in 1709. These were either Lutherans or German Reformed. They settled chiefly in Columbia and Schoharie counties. John Frederick Haegar, a Lutheran licentiate, received ordination from the Bishop of London, and accompanied them, but they did not take readily to the rites of the Anglican Church.[1] Two or three of the French Reformed Churches about this time conformed to the Anglican Church and received aid from the English Society.

Up to the year 1710, sixty-five churches of all denominations had been founded in New York and New Jersey, with a number of out-stations, and these churches had been served by one hundred and one pastors, thirty-four of whom were in service in 1710. There had been also nine chaplains serving the troops. Only five denominations, so far, had been distinctively represented, namely, the Reformed Dutch, the Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, and the Episcopalian. The Lutheran Church, now so large, was yet the smallest factor; the Presbyterian Church, with the exception of a couple of examples in early times, was only just beginning, the Presbytery of Philadelphia having been organized at Freehold, N. J., in 1706, with six ministerial members and some elders; the Dutch Reformed and the Congregational were yet the strongest, being about equal in numbers; the Anglican Church was the youngest of all, but during the first decade of the eighteenth century was growing the most rapidly, because of the systematic efforts of that great Missionary Society in London, and the governmental aid received. The now great Baptist and Methodist churches were not yet born, although one or two Baptist ministers had been on this territory. Such were the humble beginnings of the Church of God in these two States. It was yet, more or

[1] *Ecc. Records, N. Y.*, iii., 1702–3, 1735–37, 1816–41.

less, a time of strife. The great revivalistic influences had not yet appeared. But from such feeble beginnings is now arising the Great Church of the future, one in spirit, in accordance with the Master's prayer, "that they all may be One; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

APPENDICES

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE MINISTERS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS TO THE YEAR 1710.[1]

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
1621–30 Michaelius, Jonas	New Amsterdam 1628–31				
1631–40 Bogardus, Everardus	New Amsterdam 1633–47				
Young, John		Southold 1640–72			
1641–50 Doughty, Francis			Newtown New Amsterdam Flushing 1642–49		
Megapolensis, Johannes	Fort Orange New Amsterdam 1642–70				
Denton, Richard			Hempstead 1644–59		
Fordham, Joseph		Southampton 1645–74			
Backerus, Johannes	New Amsterdam 1647–49				
James, Thomas		Easthampton 1650–96			

[1] To be continued in Vol. IV in the alphabetical order of the names.

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
1651–60					
Carpentier, Caspar (French) In Delaware, 1651?–84					
Schaats, Gideon	Fort Orange 1652–94				
Drisius, Samuel	New Amsterdam 1652–73				
Leverich, William In New England, 1633–53		Oyster Bay Huntington Newtown 1653–92			
Polhemus, Johannes T. In Brazil, 1637–54	Flatbush Flatlands Brooklyn 1654–76				
Brewster, Nathaniel		Brookhaven Eastchester 1655–90			
Welius, Everardus	New Castle, Del. 1657–59				
Fordham, Jonah		Hempstead Brookhaven 1659–80			
Blom, Hermanus	Kingston 1660–67				
Selyns, Henricus	Brooklyn 1660–64				
Zyperius, Michiel Teacher and Reader	1660–64				
1661–70					
Luyck, Aegidius Latin Teacher and Reader	1662–72				
Walker, Zechariah		Jamaica 1662–68			
Megapolensis, Samuel	New York 1664–69				
Hadson, Warnerus Died on the passage over	1664				
Peck, Jeremiah		Elizabeth, N. J. 1666–78			
Pierson, Abraham In New England, 1640–67		Newark, N. J. 1667–78			
Pierson, Abraham, Jr.		Newark, N. J. 1669–92			

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Fabritius, Jacob				New York Albany 1669–70	
Denham, Thomas		Rye Bedford 1670–89			
Prudden, John		Jamaica Rye Bedford Newark 1670–1725			
Arensius, Bernardus 1671–80				New York Albany 1671–91	
Van Nieuwenhuysen, Wm.	New York 1671–81				
Carre, Ezechiel (French) Possibly in New York, 1673–78. In Rhode Island, 1687					
Woodruff		Jamaica 1674–76			
Harriman, John		Southampton, Elizabeth, N. J. 1674–1705			
Van Rensselaer, Nicholas	Albany 1675–77				Ordained in England
Tesschenmacher, Peter	New Castle, Del. Schenectady 1679–90				
Allen, John		Woodbridge, N. J. 1675–80			
Fogge, Ezekiel		Eastchester 1675–			
Jones, Eliphalet			Huntington 1676–81		
Van Zuuren, Caspar	Flatbush Flatlands New Utrecht Brooklyn 1677–85				
Van Gaasbeek, Laurentius	Kingston 1678–80				
Woolley, Charles					Chaplain 1678–80
Fletcher, Seth		Elizabeth, N. J. 1680–82			

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Taylor, Joseph	Southampton 1680–82				
Weeksteen, John 1681–90	Kingston 1681–87				
Selyns, Henricus	New York 1683–1701				
Dellius, Godfridus	Albany 1683–99				
Whiting, Joseph		Southampton 1683–1716			
Smith, John (Roman Catholic Chaplain of Gov. Dongan, 1683–88					
Harvey, Thomas (Jesuit) In New York, 1683–90					
Gage, Charles (Jesuit) In New York, 1686–87					
Harrison, Henry (Jesuit) In New York, 1685					
Dallé, Pierre (French) New York City, 1683–96 Boston, 1696–1715					
Gordon, John					Chaplain 1683–84
Mather, Warham		Eastchester 1684–			
Clarke, Josias					Chaplain 1684–86
Jones, Morgan		Eastchester 1685–			
Simpson, Dugald		Brookhaven 1685–91			
Hepburn / Eburne } Samuel					Brookhaven 1685–
					Kingston 1706–7
Varick / Van Varick } Rudolphus	Flatbush, Flatlands New Utrecht, Brooklyn 1686–94				
Van den Bosch, Laurentius (French)	Staten Island Kingston 1686–89				
Innes, Alexander					Chaplain 1686

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Peiret, Pierre (French) New York, 1687–1704					
Bonrepos, Daniel (French) New Rochelle, 1688–96 Staten Island, 1696–1717					
1691–1700					
Miller, John					Chaplain 1692–95
Goding, Samuel		East-chester 1692–			
Mathews, Marmaduke		East-chester 1694–97			
Morse, John		Newtown 1694–1706			
Bertholf, Guilliam	Hacken-sack Passaic 1694–1734				
Lupardus, Wilhelmus	Flatbush Flatlands Brooklyn New Utrecht 1695–1702				
Nucella, John Peter	Kingston 1695–1704				
White, Ebenezer		Bridge-hampton 1695–1756			
Huntting, Nathaniel		East-hampton 1696–1753			
Montaigne, John	Fordham 1696–				
Bondet, Daniel (French) New Rochelle, 1696–1709					New Rochelle, 1709–22
Smith, Symon					Chaplain 1696–1700
Mott, Edmund					Chaplain 1696–1704
Morgan, Joseph Presbyterian, but also supplied R. D. C.	Supplied Freehold and Middle-town, N. J. 1709–31		Bedford East-chester Freehold, N. J. etc. 1697–1742		
Phillips, George		Jamaica Brook-haven etc. 1697–1739			
Portlock, Edward					In New Jersey 1697–1700
Vesey, William					New York 1697–1746
Hobart } John Hubbard }			Jamaica, 1698–1703		

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Wakeman, Jabez		Newark, N. J. 1699–1709			
DuBois, Gualterus	New York 1699–1751				
Lydius, Johannes	Albany 1700–1709				
Freeman, Bernardus	Schenectady Flatbush Flatlands Bushwick New Utrecht Brooklyn 1700–1741				
Rhodes, William (a Baptist), Oyster Bay, 1700–24					
Shepherd, Samuel		Woodbridge, N. J. 1700–54			
Brisac, John Peter 1701–1705					Chaplain 1701
Gordon, Patrick[1]					Jamaica, 1702
Talbot, John[1]					Burlington 1702–27
Van Vleck, Paulus	In Pennsylvania and New Jersey 1702–13				
Bartow, John[1]					Westchester, etc. 1702–25
Jones, John		Bedford 1702–04			
Thomas, John[1]					Hempstead Oyster Bay 1702–24
Evans, Evan					Philadelphia 1702–09
Keith, George					Visitor 1702–06
Honeyman, James					Jamaica, 1703–04
Urquehart, Wm.[1]					Jamaica, 1703–09

[1] Missionary of Society for Propagating the Gospel.

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Falckner, Justus				General missionary 1703–23	
Sharpe, John[1]					Chaplain 1704–17
Moore, Thoroughgood[1]					Burlington 1704–07
Laborei, James (French) New York, 1704–06 Conformed, 1706					An M.D. also. Occasionally assisted
Melyn, Samuel		Elizabeth 1704–07			
Brook, John[1]					Hempstead Elizabeth 1705–07
Antonides, Vincentius	Flatbush Flatlands Brooklyn Bushwick New Utrecht Gravesend 1705–44				
Muirson, George[1]					Rye 1705–08
Goodhue, Francis		Jamaica, 1705–07			
MacKenzie, Eneas[1]					Staten Island 1705–22
Beys, Henricus[1] 1706–10	Kingston 1706–08				Harlem 1710–13
Boyd, John			Freehold, N. J. 1706–08		
Whittlesey, Samuel		Newark 1706–07			
Hampton, John			Visitor 1706		
Makemie, Francis			Visitor 1706		
Wade, Nathaniel		Woodbridge 1707–11			
Kocherthal, Joshua				East and West Camp 1708–19	
Pomroy, Samuel		Newtown 1708–44			

[1] Missionary of Society for Propagating the Gospel.

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
Anderson, James			New Castle, Del. 1708–17 New York 1717–26 [Donegal, Pa. 1726–40]		
Barclay, Thomas[1]					Missionary to Indians; Albany 1708–22
Bowers, Nathaniel			Newark 1709–16		
Vaughan, Edward[1]					Elizabeth 1709–47
Bridge, Christopher[1]					Rye 1709–19
Bondet, Daniel (French)[1]		[Boston and Worcester 1686–95] New Rochelle 1696–1709 Conforms			New Rochelle 1709–22
Dickinson, Jonathan			Elizabeth 1709–47		
Wickenden, William Baptist, 1709					
Haegar, John Frederick[1]					Reformed Germans and Lutherans along the Hudson 1709–21
Vas, Peter	Kingston 1710–56				
Poyer, Thomas[1]					Jamaica 1710–32
Rou, Louis (French) New York City, 1710–50					

[1] Missionary of Society for Propagating the Gospel.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE CHURCHES IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY OF ALL DENOMINATIONS FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS TO THE YEAR 1710.

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
1621–30					
New Amsterdam or New York	1628				
1631–40					
Southold		1640			
Southampton		1640			
1641–50					
Fort Orange or Albany	1642				
Newtown			1642		
Hempstead			1644		
1651–60					
Easthampton		1652			
Huntington			1653		
Flatbush	1654				
Flatlands	1654				
Bushwyck	1654				
Gravesend	1654				
New Castle, Del.	1654				
Brookhaven		1655			
Jamaica			1656		
Gravesend (Quaker) 1657					
Kingston	1659				
Brooklyn	1660				
Harlem	1660				
Stuyvesant's Bowery	1660				
Newtown		1660			
Bergen, N. J.	1660				
1661–70					
Staten Island	1665				
Elizabeth, N. J.			1665		
Newark, N. J.			1667		
New York City				1668	
Albany				1669	
New York City, French, in Fort, 1668					
1671–80					
Rye			1671		
Shrewsbury N. J. (Quaker), 1672					
Oyster Bay (Quaker), 1672?					
Schenectady	1680				
Port Richmond, S. I.	1680				
Bedford		1680			
1681–90					
Hackensack (French), 1682					
New Paltz (French)	1683				
Brookhaven					1685?
Freehold			1685		
Hackensack	1686				
New Rochelle (French), 1688					
New York City (French), 1688					
Jamaica (Quaker), 1689					
Piscataway					1689?
Flushing			1690		
Flushing (Quaker), 1690					

	Dutch Reformed	Congregational	Presbyterian	Lutheran	Episcopalian
1691–1700					
Passaic, N. J.	1693				
Tappan	1694				
Richmond, S. I. (French), 1694					
Woodbridge, N. J.			1694		
Bridgehampton		1695			
Fordham	1696				
Philadelphia					1696
Tarrytown	1697				
New York (Trinity)					1697
New York (Jewish), 1697					
Eastchester			1699		
Freehold	1699				
Holmdel	1699				
Middletown, N. J.	1699				
Raritan (Somerville)	1699				
Belleville	1700				
Oyster Bay (Baptist), 1700					
Pennington, N. J.			1700?		
1701–5					
Rochester (Ulster Co.)	1701				
Jamaica	1702				
Three Mile Run, N. J.	1703				
Jamaica, with Newtown, Flushing					1702
Westchester, with Eastchester, Yonkers, Pelham Manor					1702
Burlington, N. J.					1703
Albany					1704
Elizabeth, including Perth Amboy, Rahway, Shrewsbury, Piscataway, Freehold, Pennington					1705
Hempstead, with Oyster Bay					1705
Rye, with Mamaroneck, Bedford					1705
Richmond, S. I.					1705
Middletown, N. J.			1705		
1706–1710					
Schagticoke, N. Y.	1707				
Newburgh				1708	
North and South Hampton, Pa.	1710				
East Camp				1710	
West Camp				1710	
Bensalem, Pa.			1710		
Harlem					1710
Germantown, Pa. (Refd. Ger.), 1710					
Neshaminy, Pa.			1710		
Ponds, N. J.	1710				
Franklin Park, N. J.	1710				

The Mercersburg Theology Historically Considered

By

George Warren Richards

THE MERCERSBURG THEOLOGY HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

By George Warren Richards, Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

(*Read December 27, 1911*)

THE Mercersburg Theology derived its name from the town of Mercersburg in Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Here was the seat of Marshall College from 1835 to 1853, and of The Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States from 1837 to 1871. While Mercersburg gave the institutions "a local habitation and a name," they owed their distinctive doctrines to the genius of the German and the Swiss Reformed people in America and to the influence of the contemporary German philosophy and theology.

The avowed purpose of the leaders of the school was "to transfer to some extent into the literature of this country the life and power of German thinking generally, under its more recent forms." This task was to be accomplished not merely by a translation of German thought into English words, but by a reproduction of the wealth of German scholarship in new creations in which the best products of the Anglo-Saxon and the Teutonic mind harmoniously blended. The result has been called the "Anglo-German" philosophy and

theology, a name far more appropriate and expressive than the term "Mercersburg."

I. Historical Setting

The Mercersburg Theology was the counterpart in America of the evangelical theology of Germany, which dates its rise and spread from the national struggle for independence against the usurpation of Napoleon, the enthusiasm aroused by the celebration of the third centennial of the Reformation and the introduction of the Evangelical Union into Prussia (1817). These events and movements had special significance on account of the deeper and more spiritual philosophy and theology which came in the wake of the rationalism of the eighteenth century. From their new vantage-ground the German theologians restudied the history of Protestantism and recognized the truth and error in the successive stages of its development—in confessionalism, pietism, and rationalism. Controlled in their thinking by the idea of historical development, they looked to the future, not to the past, for the highest form of Protestantism. They, accordingly, felt it to be their mission to conserve old truth, to accept new truth, and to eliminate traditional errors and defects of previous periods, by advancing into a new and higher stage of evangelical Christianity. Thus they hoped to realize the logical consequences of the ideas of the Reformers in what was styled "Protestant Catholicism."

The fundamental question at issue is defined by Professor Dorner, in his *History of Protestant Theology* (Eng. Trans., ii., p. 347), as follows: "The theological problem which the Reformers left unsolved is the scientific union of the material and formal principles, the subjective and the objective factors, in Protestantism." The same view is expressed in a more detailed way by Dr. Nevin in a sermon on Catholic Unity (1844): "The work of the Reformation is not yet

complete." Its consummation was checked and hindered by a "gradual paralysis of those principles," for which the Reformers protested against Romanism and denounced radicalism. "The most distressing phase of this bastard Protestantism has been presented in the modern rationalism of Germany," in the "infidel and semi-infidel affinities of the dissenting parties of Great Britain," and "in the unbridled licentiousness of private judgment as it appears in the endless multiplication of sects on our side of the Atlantic." A sundering, or a one-sided emphasis, of the principles of Protestantism resulted now in the dogmatism and ecclesiasticism of the seventeenth century, and then in the pietism and rationalism of the eighteenth century. Dr. Schaff in his tract on *The Principle of Protestantism* (1845) called attention to the defects of the former—supernaturalistic orthodoxy—but especially warned the Church against the excesses of the latter—a false and uncontrolled subjectivism. "Rationalism and sectarism," he says in an italicized paragraph, "are the most dangerous enemies of our Church at the present time. They are both but different sides of one and the same principle, a one-sided false subjectivity sundered from the authority of the objective. Rationalism is theoretic sectarism; sectarism is practical rationalism."

The remedy for these "diseases of Protestantism" was sought both in a restoration, and in a completion, of the evangelical ideas of the Reformation. The restoration was not to be a mere replica of the formulas and institutions of the fourth, or of the sixteenth, century; but an historic reproduction under new conditions of the normal relation of the believer to Christ, of faith to the Bible, of freedom to authority, of the individual to the Church, as this was maintained in the religious experience of the Reformers. The completion of the Reformation was not to be a virtual breach with evangelical principles, but an advance beyond the positions of the original Reformers, beyond confessionalism and rationalism, by the application of truths new and old in the solution

of contemporary problems in Church and State. Moreover, it was fondly hoped that there might be even a reconciliation of Catholicism and Protestantism in such form, "that the truth that each includes may be saved in the union of both." Neither reaction not revolution—Puseyism, rationalism, or sectarism—but the historical development of Christianity in the bosom of the world's life was the inspiring ideal of the evangelical theologians of Germany and of the Mercersburg school.

The prevailing theology of Europe and America at the opening of the last century was a form of rationalistic supernaturalism, a half-way covenant between orthodoxy and rationalism. In Germany it took a more theoretical, in England and the United States, a more practical, form; in principle, however, it was the same in the Protestant churches generally. The theology was *supernaturalistic* because the divine factor in religion was emphasized to the neglect of the human, "and was held apart from real union with the world's life." Its world-view (*Weltanschauung*) agreed substantially with that of the thirteenth century schoolmen and of the seventeenth century dogmaticians. The deity was relegated to the distant heavens without any active intercourse with the universe—an absentee God. Ever and anon in the great crises of history He interferes in a miraculous way with the regular processes of nature and with the course of human events to promote the purposes of His kingdom. In ancient times He made known His will, once for all, through His servants, the prophets, whose message is preserved in a book for the guidance of generations unborn. Finally, Jesus came down from heaven for us men and for our salvation, fulfilled the plan of redemption and returned to the throne of glory. In the absence of the Lord, the Scripture, of the Old and New Testaments are the depository of divine revelation attested by miracles and the fulfilment of prophecy, and therefore the infallible and final source of truth.

The supernaturalism was *rationalistic* because the conviction of the reality of Christian revelation was based, not on the testimony of the Holy Spirit, on which the Reformers laid so much stress, nor even on the self-authenticating power of the word in men's souls, but on proofs drawn from sound reason or historical investigation. In the words of Nevin it held that "the reason in its own natural form is the only medium of assurance for us that the Bible is of divine authority, and the reason is the only instrument whereby we are to arrive at a knowledge of what the Bible teaches." Philosophy, therefore, is to confirm faith in revelation as was attempted by Wolff in Germany and by Locke in England. This type of theology was not confined to the continent, but prevailed in the churches of England and America, though in a practical, rather than in a theoretical, form. Nor must we forget that it was not a conscious surrender to rationalism as such, but an earnest attempt to save the orthodox faith from the vagaries of the age of reason; yet it compromised with the enemy to such an extent that in the end it was led captive by its foe.

In their point of view and method of study the orthodox and the rationalists, the Calvinists and the Arminians, the Trinitarians and the Unitarians, the Church-men and the Evangelicals, were agreed. They differed, indeed, in many of their conclusions, but their view of the world and the Bible, their exegetical method and their theory of knowledge, were essentially the same. Sabatier in his *Religions of Authority and The Religion of the Spirit* says: "Reimarus, Voltaire, and Tindal had no other idea of religion than Quenstedt or Calov. But to all men of that age the Christian religion was a supernatural science, a system of doctrine which some held to be true and others false. As the former explained it by a hypothesis of divine intervention, the latter always found it possible to attribute it to clerical trickery, and this they did not fail to do."

This conception of religion is marked by an absence of a

genetic relation between God and the world, between life and doctrine, between personal experience and established authority, between Christian consciousness and traditional dogma. The gospel and the confessions are accepted in an outward way without an ethical appropriation of their contents. Living faith in Christ, sustained by profound thought and certified by holy living, is generally absent. A cold, heartless orthodoxy, coming from the fathers, may coexist with worldliness and moral laxity.

The rejuvenation and readjustment of theology to modern conditions required a complete change of base, for the dogmas of Catholicism, as well as of Protestantism, rested on the philosophy of Aristotle and the astronomy of Ptolemy. The change from the geocentric to the heliocentric view of the world had far-reaching consequences. The system which put the earth at the centre of the universe, the Church at the centre of humanity, hell under the earth, heaven above it, and the throne of God surrounded by a celestial hierarchy in the heaven of heavens, was dissolved into thin air by the discoveries of Copernicus, Newton, and Kepler. Descartes reasoned from man to God, and Bacon from facts to principles —both equally anti-dogmatic and anti-traditional. The scientific method was applied first in the investigation of nature, then in the study of literature and history, and finally in the interpretation of religion and the Bible. The reign of miracle was superseded by a reign of law; God enthroned in the heavens was now regarded as dwelling in His world; revelation from above was turned into revelation from within. Philosophy, science, art, and politics, which, since the age of Constantine, were under the tutelage of the Church, declared themselves independent and followed the guidance of reason instead of revelation. Political and social sanctions were found in the reason and conscience of men, and not in the prescriptions of the Church or the precepts of the Bible.

Thus the warfare between theology and science began.

For a time, indeed, the humanists and the dogmaticians might ignore each other, but the modern man was unwilling to separate indefinitely his religion and his culture. The scientific and the democratic spirit demanded a reconstruction of theological doctrines in conformity with a new civilization. With all its defects the Enlightenment had rendered valuable service to the cause of religion. Henceforth account had to be taken by the Church of the legitimate claims of the individual reason and conscience over against the established authority of Church and State, of the legitimacy of criticism over against dogmatism, of free investigation over against implicit faith, of the cry for new forms of life corresponding to the experience of a new age. Dorner says: "An antiquated theology went down to its grave but the Christian faith remained, nay, was even now reviving with fresh vigor to bring forth in due time a new theology" (Dorner, ii., p. 345).

The dawn of a new era in theology is marked by the rise of romanticism, whose prophet was Rousseau, by the speculative philosophy from Kant to Hegel, and by the epoch-making theology of Schleiermacher.

Romanticism awakened a new sense for nature and man's vital relation to it. The natural world was viewed not as a lifeless mechanism, but as an organism pulsating with mysterious powers, inaccessible to sober reason, and yet making their presence known by signs and symbols. The human body throbbing with a living soul was considered the most appropriate analogy of God's relation to the universe. "God was to nature no *extra* or *supra;* if he did not exist in the world then he existed nowhere; yet immanence did not mean identity; God was not the world, nor the world God; He was the highest, most living, most active existence, who had given to His creatures what is highest—existence and reality" (Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology,* p. 199).

The intuitions, or the inward voice of feeling, by which

man interprets the mysterious promptings of his being, were recognized as an organ of knowledge alongside of the logical processes of the reason—a direct attack on the foundations of the eighteenth century philosophy and a reversion to the mysticism of former ages. Men once more trusted immediate impressions rather than traditional formulas, the products of swift intuition and bold creation rather than of cautious reflection. The ancient and mediæval myths came to be regarded as forms of truth, no less reliable than dogmas of councils, definitions of philosophy, and formulas of science. Art was again brought into the service of religion, and religion became an object of æsthetic enjoyment as well as a means of holy living. Kant dates a change in the early history of his mind from the time he read the second *Discourse* of Rousseau, and compared the moral revolution wrought by the French philosopher by his discovery of "the deep hidden nature of man" to the intellectual revolution inaugurated by the discoveries of Newton.

The Romanticists, accordingly, beheld God in His world, heard His voice in nature, and in the depths of man's being. From the clod to the crystal, from the insect to the eagle, from the savage to the sage, they traced in ascending degrees the presence of divinity in the forms of truth, virtue, and beauty. This is the new note in the literature of Germany and England—in Herder, Schiller, and Goethe; in Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth. The Romanticists, however, still lived within the horizon of the eighteenth century. In their zeal for the rights of the individual, their contempt for authority, and their revolt from the stereotyped forms of the civil, social, and religious life of the ancient régime, they were akin to the rationalists. In a later stage, however, many of them escaped the errors of an unregulated subjectivism and turned with deep reverence to religion and the Church or to the study of natural history and the evolution of civilization generally. They had the vision and the dynamic of a new age.

The poetic idealism of the Romanticists prepared the way for the speculative philosophy of Germany. Kant indeed was the champion of rationalism and yet he became also its chief destroyer. He explored the "deep hidden nature of man," of which he read in Rousseau's *Discourse*, and found access to a realm of being which lies beyond the scope of pure reason. He found the key to the transcendental world in the categorical imperative or the sense of moral obligation in the practical reason. This is not the product of experience, education, or reflection, but has its source in the moral order of which man is an inseparable part. By implicit obedience to the voice of duty he is wrought upon by forces beyond the scope of the natural and the phenomenal world. Thus Kant found God not outside of the world, but in it. He could not be conceived as dwelling apart from the world of thought and action, but must be discovered in His central place as author and governor of the moral order which constitutes our world of purpose and desire, a God immanent as well as transcendent.

The younger Fichte called Kant "the Columbus of a new world within us, of the existence of which all deeper minds had a presentiment, which had, however, in no wise been made certain to science. He had only discovered the coast lines and had no more than the dim vision of the regions beyond." Kant's followers made vast account of his discovery. The elder Fichte found *Das Ding an Sich* in the human ego and thus developed his subjective idealism. He turned away from nature as being merely the non-ego, and made moral personality the supreme reality in the theoretical and the practical sphere. All action is motived by the sense of duty and the nobility of life is in its obligations. God the absolute life becomes self-conscious in the individual ego, and knowledge in its highest form can be knowledge only of one being, that is God.

Schelling concluded that all thinking that is worth the name is done in the sphere of the transcendental, and when

we are thus engaged the absolute mind is thinking in us. He freed German science, and with it theology also, from the bonds of Kant's standpoint of reflection and Fichte's subjective idealism, and led forth the spirit again into the objective world both of nature and of history. He viewed nature as a realm of vital forces and inward connections—a spiritual whole united by a single life and in constant process of becoming. He advanced the theory of progressive revelation and thus made room for all the various religions.

Hegel unfolded Schelling's idea into one of the most completely rounded systems of thought known in the history of philosophy. He represented the transcendental world of Kant as an organism of infinite spiritual, yet real, entities. The divine reason is gradually realized in the life of humanity and is incarnated in the several stages of history—in laws, arts, religions, and morals. The State in its most comprehensive sense is the incarnation of the divine life. At a time when even theologians questioned the doctrines of the incarnation and the atonement, Schelling and Hegel defended them as fulfilling the demands of the highest reason. In his philosophy of history, Hegel shows that the history of mankind is not an aggregate of arbitary forces nor a chaos of selfish passions, but man's progressive realization of the idea of freedom and of his eternal relation to God. Men are under the power of objective truth even when they are not conscious of it. The great men of history are those whose private ends embody the will of the world-spirit. The æsthetic view of Schelling, that nature is a realm of vital forces and inward connections and that all organic beings have arisen by gradual development from one and the same organism, was applied by Hegel to all spheres of nature and mind. Thus the subjectivism of the eighteenth century, whether of rationalism or of romanticism, was superseded by reverence for objective authority in the historical forms of the Church and of the State. As there was a revival of ecclesiasticism in the one, so there was of patriotism in

the other. The spirit of revolt was changed into a spirit of loyalty. The individual found freedom not in arbitrary action, but in voluntary obedience to authority. To obey was better than to rebel; to devote oneself to the general welfare better than to labor for self-aggrandizement. This was a philosophic basis for the solution of the unsolved theological problem of the Reformers as formulated by Dorner—the scientific union of the material and formal principle, the subjective and the objective factors, in Protestantism.

In theology the epoch-making person was Friederich Schleiermacher. The title of his first notable work, *Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern*, indicates his purpose. He aimed to interpret Christianity to the cultured classes of his time, so as to conserve its essence and yet deliver it from the bondage of tradition by giving it a form commensurate with the requirements of his enlightened age. He advanced beyond the rationalists and the supernaturalists, not by further developing their premises, but by positing a new definition of the nature of religion in general and thus laying the foundation for an intelligible apprehension of the Christian system. Protestant dogmatics, since the days of Melancthon, consisted of a collection of loci or propositions, buttressed by biblical texts but not inwardly and organically related. His *Glaubenslehre* resembles an organism controlled in all its members by a central principle, constituting it in the true sense of the term a theological system. His method has influenced dogmaticians of every school since his day.

He was capable of preparing a new system of dogmatics, because he had a new view of Christianity and of the origin and contents of dogma. Men, hitherto, found dogmas in the Bible. It was the task of theologians to discover and translate them into the language of their age. The idea of a development of dogma was foreign to their minds. Schleiermacher, following in the wake of Lessing and Semler, distinguished

between the Bible and the creeds, religion and theology. He found the source of dogma, not primarily in a book, but in the consciousness of the Christian community. Kattenbusch says: "Schleiermacher will von keiner anderen Aufgabe der 'Glaubenslehre' wissen als der, dass sie die geistigen Erfahrungen der vorhandenen Kirche ausdeute" (Kattenbusch, *Von Schleiermacher bis Ritschl*, p. 44). Doctrine, accordingly, is a statement of the contents of the Christian consciousness resulting from living fellowship between God and man. Morality is the ethical fruition of this mystical union.

He differed from orthodoxy in not accepting an external standard of authority. For him an article of a creed or a doctrine was not authoritative, unless it could be authenticated by religious experience. He differed from rationalism in refusing to accept the enlightened reason of the eighteenth century philosopher, or even the universal reason of mankind, as the measure of truth. The reason and conscience of the religious man alone are capable of discerning the truth and the value of religion. He differed from both orthodoxy and rationalism in his conception of Christianity. The latter agreed in resolving it into an acceptance of doctrines and observance of precepts—intellectualism and moralism. The difference between them was one of degree far more than of kind. Schleiermacher, however, defined Christianity as a life which preceded doctrine and morality, and from time to time expressed itself in new forms corresponding to the genius of the nations which accepted the gospel. His theology was Christological—an interpretation of God, man, and history through Christ. The approach to Christ was through the Christian consciousness rather than through the Bible or the creeds.

To him then we must trace partly the origin, and partly the spread, of the ideas in the writings of the Mercersburg school, which are so widely current in the theology of to-day. We may summarize them as follows: Christianity is a life;

religion and theology are distinct; the Christian consciousness is the source of dogma; authority in religion is not in an external standard, but in the human spirit in fellowship with Christ; Christianity unfolds itself according to the laws of historical development.

Three tendencies diverged from Schleiermacher:—the confessional, the mediational, and the liberal. All of them are to a greater or less extent indebted to his theological genius. They differed in their emphasis on the several parts of his system. The mediationalists of various shades of view had a strong influence on the men of Mercersburg. Dr. Nevin frankly acknowledged his indebtedness to Schleiermacher and the men who came under his influence—Neander, Nitzsch, Julius Müller, Dorner, Rothe, and Ullman. They aimed to state old truths in new forms; to mediate between traditional dogmas and the new philosophy. They emphasized points of agreement between the churches rather than of difference, and were friendly toward the Evangelical Union of Prussia. One of their favorite mottos was popularized in this country by Dr. Schaff:—"In essentials, unity; in doubtful points, freedom; in all things, love." They broke away from confessional literalism, not by rejecting confessions, but by interpreting them historically. They escaped the errors of rationalism without ignoring its worth, not by setting up a new, or reviving an old, infallibility, but by finding assurance of truth in the mystical fellowship of the soul with God in Christ. They evaded the excesses of pietism, and yet recognized its right, by making room for the emotions in religion, but only as "the child of truth and the parent of duty."

II. The Leaders of the Mercersburg School

For several reasons the Reformed Church of the United States became a medium by which German theology and philosophy were brought into America. It was the Church

of the Heidelberg Catechism, the most irenic symbol of the Reformation. Its ministers and members were of German descent and continued for a century to cherish German traditions in this country. Their denominational consciousness, however vague it may have been, differentiated them from Puritanism and Methodism. By one of the most extraordinary coincidences in the history of American Christianity, the leaders of the first educational institutions of this denomination were three distinguished scholars who in time won an international reputation. They were Friedrich A. Rauch, Philip Schaff, and John W. Nevin; the first a philosopher, the second an historian, and the third a theologian. Each contributed his portion toward the constituent elements of the Mercersburg system. The significance of these men can be appreciated only in the light of certain biographical facts which have a direct bearing on their academic career.

Rauch (1806–1841) studied theology and philosophy at the universities of Marburg, Giessen, and Heidelberg (1824–1827), took his doctor's degree at Marburg (1827), became successively *privatdocent* and professor extraordinary at Giessen, and was finally called to Heidelberg as ordinary professor (1831).[1] Before he came to America, at the age of twenty-six, he had written *A Latin Treatise on the Electra of Sophocles*, a thesis on *The Identity of the Hindoos, Persians, and Slavs, as Indicated by Their Language, Religion, and Manners*, and *A Critique of Goethe's Faust*, which Goethe in his conversations with Eckermann pronounced as "one of the best." Of Dr. Schaff we need not speak at length in this place. Suffice it to say that, before his residence in Mercersburg as professor of church history, he had passed the *examen rigorosum* of the Berlin University, won the privileges of a *privatdocent*, published at least two notable historical mono-

[1] His call to Heidelberg is doubted by Dr. Jas. I. Good, who could not find a note of it in the records of the University. But the records themselves seem to be broken or incomplete.

graphs, and gave promise of future distinction in the university life of Germany. Dr. Nevin was of Scotch-Irish descent and a member of the Presbyterian Church. Before he was chosen to a professorship in the Reformed Church, he had been theological tutor at Princeton, professor in the Allegheny Theological Seminary, author of a biblical archeology, and, for an American student at that time, had an unusual knowledge of German philosophy and theology. It is, therefore, not a mere play of the imagination to say that in scholarship, culture, and personal force, these three men ranked second to none in the academic world of their age; and even now they would find cordial welcome in the faculties of the greatest universities of Europe and America.

In their new vocation they were convinced that they had both a vision and a task. In the language of Dr. Nevin, "Dr. Rauch felt himself impelled to attempt the work of transferring to some extent into the literature of this country not Hegel's philosophy as such, nor the metaphysics of Germany as a distinct and separate interest, but the life and power of German thinking generally, under its more recent form, in all that related to the phenomenology of the soul." After Rauch's decease, Dr. Nevin and Dr. Schaff were confronted by more practical issues, arising out of the condition of American Protestantism. They, as a result of their studies and observations, believed that the churches of the Reformation, transplanted to American soil, had in a great measure given up their original faith, had come under the power of a spirit foreign to the Reformation symbols, and were really, unwelcome as was the charge, drifting on the broad current of rationalism. The German Reformed Church with others had also forsaken its original denominational character, and had become subject to Puritanic and Methodistic modes of thought and practice. Regarding such a surrender as a great wrong and a spiritual loss, they criticised with boldness the various aspects of church life at that time. In Dr. Schaff's own words: "The main

question of our time is concerning the nature of the Church itself, in its relation to the world and to single Christians." The issue clearly resembled that of the Church in Germany in the transition from supernaturalism and rationalism of the eighteenth century to the new evangelical theology of the nineteenth. The dissatisfaction of the Mercersburg men with the reigning Protestantism of America was created by their study of the German theologians of that transitional period. This was recognized by their opponents as well as confessed by themselves. When Dr. Hodge charged Dr. Nevin with borrowing "cast-off clothes" of German theologians, the latter did not deny the help he received either from Schleiermacher or Hegel, but claimed to have escaped their errors.

III. The Philosophical Basis

The philosophic basis of the Mercersburg Theology was laid by Dr. Rauch in his lectures on anthropology, psychology, æsthetics, and ethics, with brief courses on the history of philosophy and the philosophy of history. Dr. Nevin, however, made original and exhaustive studies of the German philosophers long after the death of Dr. Rauch. Their system may be termed a form of idealistic realism, differing at every point from the empiricism of Locke, which was generally taught in the institutions of this country. It laid stress on the immanence of God. The universe was represented as an organism, vitalized and upheld from atom to man by the divine spirit. The phenomenal world is an embodiment of the thoughts and volitions of God, and is thus a system "alive and active in all its elements, filled with powers from the mechanical, chemical, magnetic, and galvanic up to the organic, all of which flow invisibly into each other, affect and determine each other. Eternal laws dwell in them." "Life does not proceed from matter but is a thought of God accompanied by the divine will, to be

realized in nature and to appear externally in an organized body." The empirical school conceived the universe as a vast mechanism, whose parts are conjoined by a mechanic, and "whose powers exist side by side without having any affinity to, or connection with, each other." History was regarded as a genetic process, the evolution of a divine idea, ever realizing itself through the travail of nations and in the course of centuries, until its ultimate goal is attained in Jesus Christ. Each stage of progress is a product of the past and a preparation for the future.

The system completed itself in a Christian interpretation of the universe and of history. As the natural world found its completion in man, so the human world in Christ. Through Christ only the ultimate cause and purpose of nature and history can be understood. The Church is the body of Christ, bearing in its bosom the powers of the heavenly world and perpetuating in the forms of time and space the new creation in Christ Jesus. Christianity is a life, essentially the same in all ages, yet the form it assumes—its doctrines, polity, and cultus—varies from time to time. There may, accordingly, be change and progress, and even retrogression, and yet the historic continuity of the Church remains unbroken. As Christ, by his coming into the world, became subject to natural law, so his kingdom must be established, not in opposition to the laws of humanity, but by entering into humanity in a lawful way and transforming it with its own celestial life. In his eulogy on Dr. Rauch, Dr. Nevin sums up his views of the relation between philosophy and theology. "Faith must embrace not the notion of supernatural things simply, but the very power and presence of things themselves. Religion became for him in this view an inward commerce with the powers of a higher spiritual world. The invisible was felt to be the truly actual and real, while the outward and visible might be regarded as being in some sort only its empty shadow projected on the field of space. Innumerable analogies, adum-

brations, and correspondencies, not obvious to common minds, seem habitually present to his view, binding the universe into one sublime whole, the earth reflecting the heavens, and the waves of eternity echoing on the shores of time."

By way of contrast with the prevailing philosophy in America, we may describe the mode of thought in Dr. Rauch's lectures as organic and not mechanical; concrete and not abstract; necessary and internal, not arbitrary and external. He shows at every turn his mastery of the transcendental philosophy from Kant to Hegel, and is especially influenced by Hegelianism as interpreted by his great teacher, Professor Daub of Heidelberg. Yet he was not a slavish follower of any man or system. His philosophy was the handmaid of his theology, and his faith in the transcendent realities revealed in Jesus Christ regulated his views of God, man, and the world. His character as a philosopher and a man is truly described on the monument erected to his memory, bearing the inscription "A Christian Philosopher."

IV. The Theological Principles

Two fundamental ideas control every part of the Mercersburg theology and differentiate it from the so-called Pseudo-protestantism of the time on the one hand, and from Romanism and Puseyism on the other. First, the person of Christ is made to be the ultimate fact of Christianity; second, the supernatural life which this fact includes is represented as coming through Christ into organic union with the life of nature for the redemption of the world. These principles were not new; in fact they were considered the common heritage of Catholic and Protestant Christianity. It was rather a restoration of them in their proper relation and to their true place in the Christian system for which the Mercersburg theologians contended. Dr. Hodge traced them

to Schleiermacher, while Dr. Nevin considered them "the true doctrine of the Athanasian Creed and the controlling ideas of the reigning evangelical theology of Germany."

According to the first principle, the theology was Christological or Christocentric. The incarnation, not the doctrine or the death, of Christ is the central idea of Christianity. The life of God, in the person of the Incarnate Word, incorporated itself with the life of the human race and became in this way the principle of a new creation for the world at large. Christ took human nature upon himself, and, in doing so, he raised it into a higher sphere by uniting it with the nature of God, and became thus the root of a new life for men. It is important to observe that he assumed human nature in general, and not merely in particular. He became generic man, not merely an individual person. As the fall of Adam was generic and organic, so in Christ are the redemption and salvation of the race.

Christ is, therefore, not simply a great teacher, nor a divine expedient to satisfy eternal justice; he is the principle and foundation of a new life, which is perpetuated in the world through his body—the Church. The doctrine and the work of Christ have value only as they proceed from his divine-human constitution. Christianity is more than a *doctrine* for the instruction of the mind, however vast and momentous the truths of revelation may be. It is more than a *law* for the direction of the will, though the precepts of Christ may be perfect. It is a new dynamic which lays hold of the inmost consciousness of the world, as the principle of a new creation. It comes to us, accordingly, not as a theory, a precept, or a dogma, but as a divine *fact*. In this sense it is not to be confounded with the idea of a mere *event*, as the product of natural and spiritual forces, latent in the world before Christ's appearance. For then it would be only an historical occurrence, like the building of Rome or the destruction of Jerusalem—grand and stupendous, of course, and worthy to constitute the greatest epoch in the

onward flow of time, but still one only, at least, among ten thousand other events of history. Nor, on the other hand, is Christianity to be regarded as a mere transient *miracle*. It is not the supernatural, as brought to reveal itself in the way of an outward startling phenomenon; the presence of the invisible forced abruptly, for a short season, on the sense of the visible world, and then withdrawn into its own awful retirement. The miraculous in such form cannot be said to add anything to the real contents of history; it is unhistorical and can have no influence on the course of human life.

According to the second principle, the theology "moves in the bosom of the Apostles' Creed and is objective and historical, involving thus the idea of the Church as a perennial article of faith." The supernatural is brought into real, organic, abiding union with the natural, raising it into its own sphere of life and filling it permanently with powers it never possessed before. It is no contradiction in this way to the constitution of the world as it stood previously, but accomplishes its inmost meaning by revealing itself in "the fulness of time" as the great mystery of humanity, which has been the desire of nations through all preceding ages. It thus confronts our faith as a strictly historical fact.

Starting in the great fact of the Incarnation, Christianity is perpetuated in the world in objective, historical, and sacramental form. In other words it is not simply a system of subjective notions, a metaphysical theory of God and religion, born of the human mind, a supposed apprehension of abstract verities brought into the mind by way of abstract thought, but the apprehension of supernatural realities by faith under the form of an actual divine manifestation through Christ and continually present in the world through the Church.

The doctrine of the Church is, therefore, the logical sequence of the doctrine of the Incarnation. While Christianity is essentially complete in Christ and the gospel, its

contents and power must pass over into the life of man through the medium of the Church. This implies a process of development which will reach its consummation only in the new heaven and the new earth. The Church is an organic whole in which the particular parts and periods are united by the power of a common life. As in all organisms in nature, so in the sphere of grace the generic life precedes and molds the individual. Hence the idea of an organic redemption answerable to the idea of an organic ruin of the race. "To believe now in such an organic power of redemption," says Dr. Nevin, "the actual presence in the world of a constitution of grace no less real than the constitution of man's fallen life on the outside of it; to believe in this as the result of Christ's victory over sin and death, the fruit of his resurrection and the form of his presence and working in the world through the spirit to the end of time; to believe in all this, I say, is to believe what is substantially the article of the Holy Catholic Church in the Creed."

In answer to Professor Dorner's charge that his view of the Church is that of a "sacramental divine institution," Dr. Nevin offers no denial, but replies: "As a mere human visible society, or as a mere human invisible conception, how could it have its place rightly among the other fundamentals of Christianity brought to view in the Apostles' Creed, which all represent to us the presence of the supernatural in the gospel, brought near to us sacramentally through natural forms? Certainly the Church is a divine institution, its functions, offices, and powers are of divine origin and force. In this view, its presence in the world is sacramental. For is it not the body of Christ, in and through which he works supernaturally by his spirit to the end of time?"

The prevailing view of the Church which Nevin opposed was that of a collective association, or an aggregation, of individual believers who came first to an experience of justifying faith and of pardoning sin by independent separate conversion, and who were then gathered into an organization

for the purpose of edifying one another, and of saving the lost.

The doctrine of the Incarnation and the Church involves a unique conception of the way of salvation. The objective and historical facts of the gospel, embodying the powers of the world to come, are historically and psychologically first; the subjective or experimental experience of salvation follows and is brought to pass only by a mystical union with Christ in the bosom of the divine order of grace. This union is effected through faith, which is wrought in the individual by the power of the gospel. The power that saves, therefore, is not in the experience, or in the faith, of the individual, but in the object on which faith rests. A man of the world is not converted and saved apart from the Church, merely by reading the Bible, nor by an immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. The Church has produced the Bible, and the Holy Spirit operates through the medium of the Church. A person becomes a Christian then by union with the Church, effected objectively by the Holy Ghost working in the means of grace, and subjectively by repentance and faith. Thus great stress is laid on the regular ministrations of the Church, in distinction from the spasmodic measures of the revival system. Preaching and teaching, the use of the sacraments, Christian nurture in the home, the school, and catechetical class, and the gradual unfolding of the Christian life are the normal functions and effect of a Christian congregation.

The sacraments and ordinances are not outward forms only, but they represent spiritual realities which attend sacramental acts, not as occasional influences from God in a mechanical way, but as perpetual objective forces in the historical Church. Baptism carries in it the power of salvation, and the Lord's Supper is the communion of the body and blood of Christ. As a member, then, of the Church, under the power of the gospel and the sacraments, the believer is nourished with spiritual food, even as the branch in the vine. Christian activity in all its forms, as worship or

as benevolence, as self-control or as humane service, is the fruit of the glorified Christ abiding in the believer and the believer abiding in him.

The Mercersburg conception of the Church, as an historical organization with sacramental efficacy, completes itself in corresponding liturgical forms of worship in which the whole congregation is called to pour forth its religious life to God in the prayers and hymns of all ages. According to this idea the *Order of Worship of the Reformed Church* was prepared. The book was the centre of a heated controversy lasting for thirty years, and threatened to divide the denomination. It was more than a battle about modes of worship. It was generally recognized by both sides that two schemes of theology, two different versions of Christianity, "constitutionally different and mutually repellent," were in conflict. A compromise, however, was effected, if not a reconciliation, in a Peace Movement, which was followed by the adoption of the *Directory of Worship*, practically incorporating in one book two distinct conceptions of cultus—the liturgical and the anti-liturgical.

The Mercersburg Theology was a protest against what may be termed one-sidedness and incompleteness in the prevailing systems, Pseudo-protestant and Roman. The one emphasized the subjective and experimental in religion, to the neglect of the objective and sacramental; the other reversed the emphasis and ignored the personal element in religion. The fontal source of error in both systems was traced to a defective Christology, or the want of a proper conception of the Incarnation as effecting an organic union of the natural and the supernatural in a new creation continuing in the historical form of the Church to the end of time. Both systems in their *modus operandi* were declared to be mechanical, unhistorical, unethical, and forensic.

Pseudo-protestantism was identified with the puritanic scheme of Christianity in general, including Calvinists, Methodists, Baptists, and all manner of sects. Its salient

features appear in Dr. Nevin's description of the theology of Dr. Hodge. Since the difference between the interpretation of Christianity of the two men is so strikingly brought out by contrast, we shall submit the passage at length. "His general theology," says Dr. Nevin, "carries a decidedly Nestorianizing aspect throughout. This is shown particularly in what may be termed the bald abstraction in which all doctrinal ideas are made to stand. The Trinity is taken as a logical formula, rather than a living revelation of God through Jesus Christ. The relation of God to the world is that of an artificer over against the mechanism of his own work. The last principle of things is an outward decree which it is his business to execute in a like outward way. Man is no organic whole evolving itself as a single process from first to last, but a vast multitude of living units placed on the same theatre, by successive generations, for moral trial. God imputes the sin of Adam to his posterity, not on the ground of any real unity of life between the parties, but purely of his own sovereign pleasure, just as he might have imputed the sin of the fallen angels to men, if he had thought proper. It is in virtue of his own arbitrary covenant simply, that it is said, metaphorically, 'All mankind descending from Adam by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression.' They fell not so in the actual reality of life, but only in God's purpose and plan.

"Parallel with this mechanism of the curse runs the mechanism also of redemption. The incarnation is an expedient, contrived to solve the problem of the atonement, and must be carefully held aloof from the whole process of the world's history under any other view, lest it should lose this *ex machina* character. The second Adam, thus constituted, was made our representative again, like the first, by pure covenant and decree, and not on the ground at all of any real inward qualification he had, by the constitution of his person, to become a new organic root for the race. He was in truth no such root whatever, but the outward author

simply of a redemption which is to be made over to his people in a foreign way. The virtue of the sacrifice on Calvary is made over to us by sheer divine thought, just as we might have had the benefit of some similar sacrifice, for aught we can see to the contrary, had God been pleased to order it in some other nature, and on some other planet altogether. Christ, now in heaven, is bound immovably so far as his human nature is concerned, to the right hand of God, under the same general limitations that attach to our present existence in time and space, and communicates with the world only as he did before his incarnation, in his divine nature or by the Spirit as his substitute and proxy. To conceive of him as present personally in the Church, under a peculiar mystical subsistence, of which the Holy Ghost is the medium, is said to involve virtually a denial of the objective personal existence of the Holy Ghost. Believers are indeed mystically united with Christ, as the Church has always believed, but only by the indwelling influence of the Spirit, as a wholly distinct agent, which moreover dwelt in good men before Christ came, precisely in the same way, and is not to be regarded at all as coming into any new form or revelation for men in consequence of the Mediatorial mystery. Our mystical union with Christ in this view is just like our mystical union at last with Moses, Abraham, and Isaiah, the animating life simply of one and the same Spirit which has dwelt in all. Dr. Hodge finds no particular mystery in the marriage relation, as noticed in Eph. v: 22–33, and just as little of course in Christ's relation to the Church, of which it is there made the type—the very judgment which Calvin solemnly pronounced, in this case, preposterous and irreverently rash."

In their antagonism to Protestantism, the Mercersburg men came under the reproach of Catholicizing. They were called "Crypto-papists," "Romanizers," "Conspirators," "Traitors"; and yet nothing was farther from their intention. On the contrary they were alarmed at the rapid progress

of Catholicism in the United States, and believed that it was chiefly due to the fact that Protestantism had drifted away from its moorings, and had become essentially rationalistic and sectarian. The only hope of successfully opposing Rome was to restore into Protestantism its original Catholic elements. In his *Theses for the Time,* Dr. Schaff says: "Not until Protestantism shall have repented of its own faults, and healed its own wounds, may it expect to prevail over the Church of Rome." In his introduction to *The True Principle of Protestantism* by Dr. Schaff, Dr. Nevin writes: "This much, however, is certain. The work will not be regarded by Puseyites and Papists as a plea in their favor. Rather, if I am not much mistaken, it will be felt by them, so far as it may come under their observation, to be one of the most weighty and effective arguments they have yet been called to encounter in this country, in opposition to their cause. Not with circumstances and accidents must the controversy grapple, but with principles in their inmost life, to reach any result. The present argument, accordingly, in throwing itself back upon the true principle of Protestantism, with a full acknowledgment of the difficulties that surround it, while proper pains are taken to put them out of the way, may be said to occupy the only ground on which any effectual stand can be made against the claims of Rome." Farther on in the same article he says: "Ecclesiasticism as held by Rome and also by Oxford is indeed a terrible error; but it does not follow that the mere negation of ecclesiastivism is the truth. Individualism without the Church is as little to be trusted as ecclesiasticism without individual experience. Both separately taken are false, or the truth only in a one-sided way, and the falsehood sooner or later must make itself practically felt. The full truth is the union of the two."

From one point of view, Dr. Nevin's position was one of discontent with the present order—criticising, without equivocation, both Romanism and Protestantism. Yet he was

more than a negative critic. While it is true that he never wrought out a dogmatic system, he mastered and proclaimed principles and ideals which involved an advance beyond Christianity in its present form. He was the leader of a movement more than the author of a system, searching for a stronger and higher position than had yet been reached. In his view, Romanism was clearly entangled in serious error, but Protestantism was also afflicted with radical ills. In its present stage it is "interimistic" and not the final form of the gospel, and can save itself only by passing into something else. His own struggles and experiences are portrayed in statements like the following:—"Taking the present state of Protestantism as ultimate and complete, we must despair of its being able to stand against its enemies. Our faith in its divine mission can be intelligent only as we confidently trust that it will in due time surmount its own present position, and stand forth redeemed and disenthralled from the evils that now oppress it, to complete the reformation so auspiciously begun in the sixteenth century. The necessity of some such new order of things is coming to be more and more sensibly felt; and may we not trust that the way for it is fast being prepared, though to our narrow view chaotically still and without light, in the ever-deepening and expanding agitation with which men's minds are beginning to be moved, as it might seem, all the world over, in this direction?"

The way out of the dilemma is not by "retrogression" of the Church "to papal bondage," nor by repristination of patristic Catholicism, but "by an advance by the grace of God to the true standpoint of *Protestant Catholicism.*" This is defined as "equally remote from unchurchly subjectivity and all Romanizing churchism, though it acknowledges and seeks to unite the truth of both these extremes."

From another point of view, the Mercersburg men, with firm faith in the organic and historical nature of Christianity and in the doctrine of development, took the attitude

of a prophet dimly seeing a new order rising out of the present situation and yet incapable of defining its form and its substance. They were waiting for the "kindly light" to break through the "encircling gloom." The next stage in the historic progress of Christianity they did not pretend to describe. In a sermon before a Synod of the Reformed Church, Dr. Nevin compared the situation of Protestantism to that of the Israelites when pursued by Pharaoh's hosts and hemmed in between the mountain and the sea. As then, so now, the duty of the hour is to stand still and wait for the salvation of the Lord. As deliverance came to the hosts of God in the past, He will guide them forward in the future.

In conclusion the question naturally arises: What purpose has the Mercersburg system served? To what extent has it prevailed in American Protestantism? In his early years Dr. Schaff, with a touch of humor, took delight in telling his friends in Europe that he was *pontifex maximus*, a bridge-builder between Germany and America. That this was in part the function of himself and his colleagues, historians now generally admit. Dr. Leonard Bacon, in his *History of American Christianity*, says: "In this institution," referring to the college and seminary at Mercersburg, "was effected a fruitful union of American and German theology. The result was to commend to the general attention aspects of truth, philosophical, theological, and historical, not previously current among American Protestants." In speaking of the lack of appreciation of Kant's philosophy in America in the eighteenth, and the early part of the nineteenth, century, Dr. I. Woodbridge Riley, in his *American Philosophy*, says: "Moreover it illustrates the philistine attitude of one born and bred in the British schools towards a continental system, and this serves to explain the difficulties which the critical philosophy had to contend with in the United States until it found its first sympathetic interpretation among certain Pennsylvanians of German origin"

(p. 512). But these men were not only bridge-builders between two nations; they also paved the way for a transition from Puritanism to Modernism. That some of their doctrines are no longer held either by their direct descendants in the Reformed Church or by Protestants generally, must be acknowledged. Since their day, new issues have arisen; new points of view have been taken; the Christian consciousness has undergone changes; the emphasis in theology has been shifted; and the scientific and critical method has taken the place of the philosophical and speculative in theological studies. The Mediationalists have given way to the Ritschlians. The *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* has followed close on the heels of the Ritschlians. These changes are profoundly felt in Europe and America.

Biblical criticism was largely ignored in the formative period of the Mercersburg school. Since then it has found its way into the classroom, the pulpit, and even the pew. The Antichrist, according to Nevin, was the sect spirit in Protestantism. The Antichrist of present-day orthodoxy is higher criticism. It is not now so much a question of sects and schisms in the Church as of sects and schisms in the Bible. The evolutionary hypothesis of Darwin has left its impress on kindergarten and university, and changed the mental habits of mankind. The application of the biological and the psychological method in the study of religion and of social phenomena has revolutionized biblical exegesis and church history. The Ritschlian theory of knowledge and interpretation of the essence of Christianity and of the origin of ancient Catholicism have disintegrated dogmatic systems and have forced men to theological reconstruction. Sociology is modifying the conventional curriculum of theological schools, and is raising new issues for ministers and professors.

In the new conditions of our time, the formulas of the Mercersburg school are no longer pertinent and adequate, and yet its labors have not been in vain. Theology is still

Christocentric, though the emphasis is laid not primarily on the constitution of Christ's person as on the contents of his consciousness, or on his teachings imbedded in the gospel narrative. The Church is now represented not so much as a divine order of grace and a sacramental institution, but as a fellowship of brethren and an organ for social service. In the light of their historical origin the mystery of the sacraments does not consist in a unique, divine-human presence and operation other than that of the gospel, but in a symbolical representation of the truths of the gospel. Nor is the Apostles' Creed regarded as a necessary Christological unfolding of the eternal verities latent in the Incarnation, but as a statement, gradually taking form, of the things believed in the ancient Catholic Church.

Let it be granted, then, that the Mercersburg system has "had its day and ceased to be." Many of its principles and ideals, however, have survived and have made the transition to later positions natural and easy. The idealistic view of the world, with emphasis on divine immanence, the conception of the universe as an organism, the genetic relation of nature and history, the recognition of the principle of development of all forms of life, the primacy of the generic in the life of the individual, and the objectivity and reality of universal concepts—these ideas still live and move in current thought and have a formative influence on theology.

The Christocentric principle prepared the way for the cry "Back to Christ." The historical conception of religion and the Bible enabled men, without jeopardizing their faith, to apply the principles of literary criticism to the Scriptures. The doctrine of the self-authenticating power of the truth and of Christian consciousness freed men from the bondage of scriptural and confessional literalism and paved the way for the "religion of the spirit" in place of "religions of authority." The theory of evolution is not offensive to men who have been trained to think according to the theory of historical development. The demand for creed revision and re-

adjustment in theology in the light of new conditions is not considered an evidence of apostasy and scepticism, but a sign of progress, by those who were taught that Christianity was historical and had to come into vital relation to the forms of life of various nations and ages. The attempt to reconcile science and revelation, criticism and inspiration, sociology and theology, freedom and authority, is therefore considered a perennial task of the Church. The theory of Christian nurture in contrast to "revival rupture" lends itself readily to the scheme of religious education. The present demand for reverence, dignity, and beauty in worship was answered by the liturgical ideals of the Mercersburg men. The recognition of the essential oneness of the Church in all ages furnished a sound basis for church union and church federation. The plea for a "Protestant Catholicism," which is so often made in the works of Schaff and Nevin, reminds one of a book recently published by a New England theologian.[1]

Enough, however, has been cited to show the mediational function of this school. Wherever its principles found acceptance, whether through Mercersburg, Andover, Cambridge or New Haven, there the advance from a fixed to a progressive orthodoxy was made without violent conflict. The transition was an evolution and not a revolution. But where the new Protestantism was grafted directly on the stem of supernaturalism, it either has been cast off as a foreign substance, or has become a heterogeneous and spurious growth. If, then, Mercersburg Theology was a comparatively small factor in the process of reconciliation between German and American thought and life, and between the old Protestantism and the new, the lives and labors of great men, in an obscure mountain village, were not spent for naught.

[1] Newman Smyth's *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism.*

The Beginnings of Arminianism in New England

By

Francis Albert Christie

THE BEGINNINGS OF ARMINIANISM IN NEW ENGLAND

By Francis Albert Christie, Professor of Church History in Meadville Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pennsylvania

(*Read December 27, 1911*)

In his *Narrative of Surprizing Conversions*, Edwards wrote: "About this time began the great noise that was in this part of the country, about Arminianism." The context shows that the time in mind was about 1734. On the basis of this and similar allusions and because of Sereno Dwight's comments and Whitefield's invectives, it has been believed that before the Great Awakening the Congregational churches and ministers had to some degree adopted Arminian views. An investigation of this matter may contribute to the spiritual history of New England.

To come by a knowledge of Arminianism did not require much historical erudition. "The Person inclined to Arminianism—and who is there but by Nature is inclined to error?" wrote Experience Mayhew (*Grace Defended*, p. 195.) Yet there was historical knowledge as well as the temptation of nature. John Robinson's controversy lingered long in memory (Prince's *Chronology*, pp. 36, 38) and the Arminian suspect Benjamin Kent, in 1733, was closely examined upon the articles of faith "chiefly relating to the controversy with the Remonstrants" (*Records of the Marlborough Association*, Oct., 1733; *An Historical Sketch of the First*

Congregational Church in Marlborough, Mass., Worcester, 1859). The use of the Half-Way Covenant must have kept alive the distinction of special regenerating grace as the sole condition of salvation, and the omission of spiritual relations in the Brattle Close Church meant no relaxation in this demand. The rule was that the pastor must be satisfied, and the pastor, Colman, spurned Arminian views of the way of salvation. The Stoddardean practice, opening the communion to the unregenerate, sacrificed no Calvinistic doctrine. *Pace* Jonathan Edwards, there was no Arminianism in Jonathan Ashley, who said: "The Church of Deerfield never pretended to exclude unregenerate Persons from the Church" (*An Humble Attempt*, etc., 1753, p. 19). Edwards fortified his exposition of conversion by appeals to Stoddard, and under Stoddard himself Northampton had seasons of revival conversions.

Harvard College is supposed to have been an agent in the relaxation of orthodoxy. True, the anxious Mathers in 1700 were narrowly watching an interest of students in the matter of "English orders" (Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, i., 251), but there is nothing to indicate that the interest extended to Arminian views. In 1724, Cotton Mather had fresh anxiety over the fact that Harvard students were reading books "which may truly be called Satan's library" (Quincy, *Hist. Harv. Univ.*, i., 341), but the context implies that Satan's library meant secular works. The criticism which he made of the teachers at that time attributes to them not heresy, but a lack of strenuousness in having the doctrines of grace espoused by the students (Quincy, *ibid.*, i., 559). An inquiry incited by Mather revealed only that Tillotson, Sherlock, Lucas, and Scott were the authors most consulted (*ibid.*, i., 319) and it is clear that not much damage was being done; for, in 1726, Mather knew of no Congregational pastor guilty of Arminianism and rejoiced that the contentions of English Nonconformists about justification "have not yet straggled

over the Atlantic to disturb this happy People" (*Ratio Disciplinæ*, p. 197). In fact the catalogue of the college library in 1723 shows that no work of eighteenth century date was on hand (Pierce, *Hist. Harv. College*, p. 109). About 1737, unwittingly or as a concession to modernity, Locke's *Human Understanding* was made a text-book, but the upper classes continued long after that to be drilled in Ames's *Medulla* and Wolleb's *Compendium of Theology*. The introduction of Wolleb, shortly before 1723, shows no disposition to break with the Calvinism of 1626. Teachers who used such textbooks could hardly be lax, and the Board of Overseers was far from lax. Though Hollis stipulated that Scripture should be the only test for the chair founded by him, Wigglesworth, the first incumbent, appointed in 1721, was tested by Ames's *Medulla* and the Westminster Catechism, the examiners being Colman and Leverett whom Quincy would fain count as liberals. Colman had a certain liberalism. He could tolerate the presence of other denominations, as indeed he must under the new charter of Massachusetts, and with this urbanity he spoke of "the free and Catholick air we breathe at our Cambridge where Protestants of every Denomination may have their children educated, and graduated in our College, if they behave with Sobriety and Virtue" (Turell's *Life of Colman*, p. 117). But he was no latitudinarian in theology. In violation of the intentions of Hollis, he joined in the examination of Wigglesworth's orthodoxy, and, in 1732, he begged a New London clergyman to inquire "concerning the bruit of the prevalence of Arminianism in Yale College" and "to vindicate the college from the aspersion" (Turell, p. 62). The rigor of the Harvard government was shown in 1735 by the dismissal of the French teacher, Longloissorie, for dangerous errors, although he had not expressed them to students. In the same year, provoked by the refusal of Tutor Rogers to answer questions, the Overseers asserted a right to examine the theology of teachers "upon any just suspicion of their

holding dangerous tenets, although no express charges be laid against them." It was therefore a striking innovation when on December 7, 1738, the Overseers voted not to appoint a committee to examine John Winthrop on the principles of religion. The records of the Board of Overseers, which I have personally examined, state the fact without explanation. We are left to our surmises. Winthrop, a layman, was to teach mathematics and natural philosophy and was to have no share in the inculcation of Ames and Wolleb. It is difficult to suppose that the Board would appoint a theological suspect. Quincy, indeed, suggests heresy. "Winthrop's intimacy with Dr. Chauncy and his co-operation with him in the investigation of 'certain particular truths' probably strengthened, perhaps justified, the fears existing among the stricter sect of Calvinists, that his religious views did not coincide with their standard of faith, and caused the pertinacity with which the examination was pressed"[1] (*Hist. Harv. Univ.*, ii., 26). But there is no evidence that at that date Chauncy was viewed with suspicion and would be a compromising friend. Quincy's evidence is found in a letter which thirty years later (1768) Chauncy wrote to Ezra Stiles. "He [Winthrop] went along with me in a particular study for nearly two years. I had many written communications from him and he from me, not so much by way of dispute, as by joining our forces in order to the investigation of some certain truths. But this is an anecdote which I must not be more particular in opening to you" (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1st series, x., 159). If thirty years after Winthrop's appointment Chauncy is restrained by delicacy from explaining what the matter was, we may be sure that it had no publicity in 1738.[2]

[1] This pertinacity means that the vote not to examine was reconsidered at a second meeting and reaffirmed at a third.

[2] Stiles comments on Winthrop, *Diary*, ii., 334: "He was a firm Friend to Revelation in opposition to Deism. . . . I only wish that evangelical Doctors of Grace had made a greater figure in his ideal system of Divinity."

The theological instruction of Harvard youths was in charge of Wigglesworth, Professor of Divinity until his death in 1765; Henry Flynt, tutor, 1705–1760, and President Holyoke, 1737–1769. All were orthodox. Wigglesworth championed the Great Awakening and enjoyed the confidence of Edwards. Flynt as a young man was desired for the office of Rector of Yale and never fell under suspicion. In 1737, Governor Belcher considered Calvinism a *sine qua non* for the Harvard presidency, and Holyoke's qualifications were endorsed by his very orthodox friend and neighbor, John Barnard of Marblehead. "If more than thirty years' intimacy and more than twenty years' living with him and scores of times having heard him preach, can lead me into the knowledge of a man's principles, I think Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man; though I look upon him as too much of a gentleman and of too catholic a temper to cram his principles down another man's throat." The last characterization had its value. The old coercive system had passed away forever. Men in college office must meet respected neighbors of Baptist or Episcopalian views and even Episcopalian governors of the province. Cotton Mather's *Ratio Disciplinæ* has also the "Catholick," *i.e.*, tolerant attitude. To be orthodox one did not need to be fanatic or disrespectful, and certainly politeness is no sure proof of theological laxity. Such were the men who, with old-fashioned text-books of the strictest Calvinist logic, were training the clergy in the middle of the century and were unassailed, save by Whitefield, in a time and in a society that were very conscious and sensitive about theological distinctions. The sensitiveness may be measured by the case of William Hooper, who preceded Jonathan Mayhew in the West Church of Boston. In 1739 Hooper was taken to

Stiles knew him in the second half of the century when Deism was discussed. The words allow us to infer only that Winthrop had some originality of theological construction not based on traditional theological sources. He was a layman and a scientist.

task by his brethren for a difference of language, which might seem to be the expression of an Arminian protesting against a too severe Calvinism. However, Hooper claimed full agreement with his clerical brethren and explained his difference of language as due to his education in a Scotch university and to the use of other books than were used in Harvard (Sprague's *Annals*, v. [Episc.], 124). The fact that later (1747) he quietly withdrew and entered the Episcopal Church would seem to show that his mild difference from the prevailing orthodoxy of terminology could only be comfortably maintained by leaving the Congregational ministry. His letter proves that Harvard training produced a Calvinist expression more rigorous than his and that Harvard teaching was wholly free from Arminianism.

Nevertheless the social attitude of Colman, Barnard, and Holyoke has been construed as a relaxation of orthodox conviction. Quincy, writing the history of Harvard University in a time of theological conflict (1836–1840), imputes a too modern liberalism to the urbane conservatives of the past. It was liberalism, according to Quincy, that in 1717 elected Colman to the corporation and rejected Sewall, but Colman's liberality was not what the Unitarian historian thinks, and Sewall was later offered the presidency itself. The liberalism which he imputes to President Leverett (1707–1724) is grounded on Justice Sewall's vexation with him, but Sewall's grievance was the failure of the President to expound the Bible in Hall, and Sewall had had the same grievance in 1701 against Increase Mather (Quincy, *Hist. Harv. Univ.*, i., 491). The antagonism to Leverett and Colman more evidently came from the disaffection of those whose personal interests were not satisfied and from political feeling unrelated to theology (Quincy, i., 215; Pierce, pp. 126, 129, 131, 133; Palfrey, *A Sermon Preached to the Church in Brattle Square, July 18, 1824*, p. 47).

A more glaring misconception is found in the pages of I. Woodbridge Riley, who declares that "veritable deistic

principles were taught towards the middle of the century in the Dudleian lectures on natural religion" (*American Journal of Theology*, July, 1905, p. 474). Waiving an inaccuracy of date, since the first Dudleian lecture was given five years after the middle of the century, one soon discovers a more serious error in this diagnosis. In his *American Philosophy*, Riley begins the story of Deism in America with Cotton Mather himself, and it is apparent that on Riley's terms the Apostle Paul was the first Deist. To believe that reason can discern the eternal power and godhead was certainly not Deism unless the Epistle to the Romans is veritable Deism. One of Riley's Deists is President Langdon (1775) who was arguing for the need of revelation and who represented himself to Ezra Stiles in 1777 as a defender of orthodoxy against "Deists, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians," his Christology in fact being Apollinarian (Stiles's *Diary*, ii., 190, 191). It is safe to say that either deism or Arminianism in Harvard College before the Revolution is a myth.

The myth of Arminianism among the Congregational clergy began with Whitefield's rash and unwarranted aspersions. In 1740 he brought with him suspicions of Harvard College based on his knowledge of English seats of learning. "Tillotson and Clarke are read instead of Shepard and Stoddard . . . therefore I chose to preach on these words, 'We are not as many who corrupt the word of God.'" The censure rankled and was repeated. Nearly five years later (April, 1745), Dr. Wigglesworth answered for the college that for almost nine years prior to June 22, 1741, Tillotson's works had not been taken out of the library by any undergraduate and Clarke's works not for two years, while evangelical authors were in such demand "as scarcely ever to be in the library" (Pierce, *Hist. Harv. Coll.*, App., 144; Quincy, ii., 48). This sensitiveness on the part of men who, like Wigglesworth and Colman, defended the Great Revival made it clear that Whitefield's suspicions were unfounded. He wisely retracted them, but it was he who raised the general

hue and cry of Arminianism. At his heels came the irresponsible Davenport, and after that no man's reputation was safe unless he fell in with the extreme practices of crude revivalism. When Davenport made a bonfire of pernicious works in New London, March, 1743, it was the literature of Flavel, Increase Mather, Colman, and Sewall that he consigned to perdition. Obviously he could find no more dangerous works in circulation than those of orthodox friends of revivals. The madness of such accusations is instanced in the case of Noyes who had preached with orthodoxy, though not with power, in the New Haven church since 1716. Even allowing the insane Davenport to preach in his pulpit did not save him from denunciation "as a hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a devil incarnate" (Chauncy's *Seasonable Thoughts*, p. 157 ff). After that Noyes protested in vain against the word "Arminian." Whether Chauncy ever developed into an Arminian is a matter of close definition, but he was an honest man and, speaking for himself and his brethren in 1743, he called the accusation "a base slander" (*Seasonable Thoughts*, pp. 397–9). "Tho' it was then mighty fashionable to traduce the Clergy as Arminian and heretical," Stiles, with the aid of a clerical friend, could not find one Arminian in the Connecticut clergy of 1740 (*Diary*, iii., 361, July 30, 1789), and after a more complete examination (iii., 380) found only a possible six or seven in all the three hundred and sixty-five Congregational pastorates of New England as a whole. Possibly even the six or seven were counted on the strength of later developments in their cases, for the revival experiences of 1740 brought a new demand and test—the demand for a *sudden and sensible* conversion.

How little justification there was for the popular denunciation is shown by the few isolated examinations for heresy before the Great Awakening. These are the cases of Benjamin Kent in Marlborough, Robert Breck in Springfield, and Samuel Osborn in Eastham.

Benjamin Kent, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1727, was ordained in Marlborough in 1733. The expressions of this young man had caused some neighboring ministers to refuse to take part in the ordination and soon afterwards a parishioner charged him with being "a professed Arminian" whose unorthodoxy had made "a great noise almost all over the province" (Charles Hudson, *History of Marlborough*, Boston, 1862). The same exaggerated note of alarm is found in the record of the Marlborough Association, October 16, 1733, where we read that "great complaint being made, about the world, of his principles," Mr. Kent was tested on points relating to the "controversy with the Remonstrants." Mr. Kent, however, made professions of his faith with such assertions of their sincerity that the association had to be satisfied, although the record hints that his professions were not perhaps "his *real* sentiments" (Joseph Allen, *The Worcester Association*, p. 15). The suspicious neighbors had him before a council for heresy on February 4, 1735, the heresies including the view of election "conditional on the foresight of good works," and the council advised suspension until the following May 27th. Kent left the ministry and became a lawyer. Apparently Kent denied these heresies, and we may suppose that he was not aware of the inconsistencies to be found in his expressions. That the inquisitors were severe in their standards may be judged by an examination of the sermon which he printed in 1734 before his trial. Here he maintains "that Jesus Christ or the Word, in his Hypostatical Union, is God-Man; in the one Nature true and proper Man, and in the other true and proper God." Further, that in his divine nature Christ is infinite in essence, eternal in being, unchangeable, infinite in wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, truth. Nevertheless the council charged him with "dangerous opinions with respect to the great and important Scripture doctrine of the Trinity." Allowing that the accused man must have given offence

by indiscreet, perhaps unintelligent, expressions, the story illustrates the extraordinary theological sensitiveness of the place and time, and the report of widespread alarm would indicate that Arminianism had no hold on Massachusetts churches.

With regard to the Breck case, there is no need of narrative after the complete and accurate account in Byington's *The Puritan in England and New England.* One count against Breck was Arminianism, for he had publicly said "if the decrees of God were absolute, he saw no encouragement for men to try to do their duty." Here again the whole story indicates the utter absence of Arminian sympathies in Connecticut and Massachusetts. A raw youth of twenty, beginning to preach without other teaching in theology than he received through the memorizing of Ames and Wolleb before the age of seventeen, indulges in some flighty individual opinions before Connecticut villagers. He finds that originality is dangerous, and candidating in Springfield with the increased sobriety of twenty-one years carefully refrains from all novelties. But the scandal of his past pursues him. Letters from Connecticut bring the gossip of former hearers and the sordid tale of this celebrated case begins. Nothing in the trial indicates anywhere a sympathy with Arminianism. The question was only whether a man might be allowed to repent his sinful and accidental indiscretion.

The case of Samuel Osborn of Eastham is of similar significance. An Irishman, a graduate of the University of Dublin, he found himself a plain misfit in a Cape Cod village. There was a squalid church quarrel over his settlement in 1718, the objections being petty local matters save one, which was his lack of learning in theology. The quarrels continued. In 1729, two parishioners printed a pamphlet accusing him of lying and fornication, saying nothing of doctrinal aberrations. In 1738 (June 27th), a council of ten ministers and churches had him suspended from

the ministry on the ground of views which show that his study of the Bible had impaired his Calvinism. Having then preached to some persons in his own house, he was indicted by the Grand Jury at Barnstable and fined, since "the Law knew of no such assemblies as mine was." In the autumn of 1742 he had a prospect of settlement in Brunswick, where the church was made up largely of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. This prospect was ended by a protest from Colman, Thomas Prince, William Cooper, and Joseph Gee, representing him as refusing to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, denying original sin, the doctrines of the Trinity, and justification by faith alone. In a letter to Colman intended for the Massachusetts Convention, Osborn denied these accusations save the first, and yet maintained some propositions inconsistent with justification by faith alone. That there was some difficulty in determining the exact value of his expressions is clear, not only from the conclusions of the council in 1738, but from the opinion, signed by eleven clergymen in Salem, June 9, 1740, that Osborn had been harshly treated, and that, as to his four articles, "we can't find that said Articles necessarily couch or include in them any dangerous Errors. But taking them with a Christian, candid, and charitable Construction, to us it appears that they well accord with the Truths laid down in the Gospel, and the Doctrine generally received by these churches" (signed by Ebenezer Gay, Daniel Lewis, Joseph Dorr, William Hobby, Samuel Mather, Benjamin Prescott, John Chipman, Peter Clark, Nathanael Henchman, Charles Chauncy, John Gardner).[1]

In the trial at Eastham in 1738, Obsorn had been represented as attacking a sermon by Peter Clark of Salem

[1] *Cf* (1) Enoch Pratt, *A Comprehensive History of Eastham, Wellfleet, and Orleans*, 1844.

(2) *A Short and Plain Relation of Some Transactions in the South Church at Eastham.* (This deals with Osborn's settlement.)

(3) *Additional Proposals for Convictions of the Churches*, Dec. 3, 1729.

(4) Samuel Osborn, *The Case and Complaint of M.S.O.*, etc., Boston, 1743.

Village on the efficacy of the grace of God as necessary in the conversion of a sinner, but as Osborn stood for the necessary "influence of the Spirit of God" in the same sense, the charge was withdrawn. Examination of Clark's Boston lecture (*A Sinner's Prayer for Converting Grace*, etc., Feb. 13, 1734) suggests that this discourse may have encouraged Osborn to preach that the promise of grace was conditional. The first part of it, on the necessity of grace, is orthodox enough, but going on to urge the duty of the unconverted to pray, Clark fell into a very indiscreet utterance: "that none that ever set themselves in good earnest to seek the grace of God, and continued importunate, at the door of mercy, have been rejected, but have obtained their suit; for every one that asketh receiveth" (p. 40). Inasmuch as afterward Clark was regarded as strictly orthodox (Dwight, *Life of Edwards*, 310), we may suppose that he meant only the elect capable of such good earnestness and importunity, and he may well have remembered this unguarded passage when he joined with others in asking for a charitable construction of Osborn's articles. Comparison with the opening part of the lecture shows that it could not have been intended as an avowal of Arminianism, yet as it stands unmodified it is the only published Arminian declaration save Osborn's from a Congregational source prior to 1740. Dr. Williston Walker, indeed, supposed that another was to be found in *The Orthodox Christian* of Samuel Phillips of Andover, 1738 (*New England Leaders*, p. 232). The passage quoted is: "I can't suppose that any one under the Gospel, who, from Time to Time, and at all Times, faithfully improves the *common* Grace he has, *that is to say*, is diligent in attending on the appointed Means of Grace with a Desire to profit thereby;—and, in a Word, who walks up to his Light, to the utmost of his Power, shall perish for want of a *special* and saving Grace." The work of Phillips is a dialogue between minister and child, and it is the child, not the minister, who falls into this Arminianism. Phillips

allows the child to do so only in order that it may arrive at a further conclusion, the conclusion, namely, that the non-elect does not "improve his Time and other Talents to the utmost of his Power" and hence is justly condemned. Phillips was only building up the idea that the sinner is justly condemned even if he be non-elect.

An examination of Evans's *American Bibliography* will confirm the conclusion that no advocacy of Arminian views by New England Congregationalists had appeared before the Awakening. The anonymous *Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius*, printed in 1737, shows that dangerous books were to be bought: "I went into a Stationer's Shop . . . and there I espy'd some of the *Arminian Books* . . . and the Bookseller told me of what esteem they were in *England*." Clearly they were English, not American, publications. Prior indeed to 1749, the only American publication from a Congregational author which can be called Arminian is Experience Mayhew's *Grace Defended* in 1744. In 1749, Edwards objected to the membership of certain ministers in the council dealing with his troubles: "It is well known that four or five of them have heretofore had the reputation of Arminians" (Dwight's *Life*, 336). This is a cautious statement. After 1740 many ministers had the reputation in spite of earnest denials. Literary avowal is certainly excluded by the form of the statement. There were, as I shall indicate, publications by Arminian Episcopalians, but Edwards does not deign to mention them in his controversial works. The Arminian literature which he combats is wholly foreign in origin. Suspicion therefore falls on Dwight's editing of Edwards's letter to Rev. John Erskine, August 31, 1748 (*Life*, p. 251). Thanking Erskine for the gift of the Arminian Taylor's works, Edwards wrote, according to Dwight: "It might be of particular advantage to me, here in this remote part of the world, to be better informed what books there are, that are pub-

lished on the other side of the Atlantic; and especially if there be anything that comes out, that is very remarkable. I have seen many notable things, that have been written in this country against the truth, but nothing very notable on our side of the controversies of the present day, at least of the Arminian controversy."

Since the notable things written in America against the truth are not discoverable, and since Edwards is speaking of transatlantic books, I entertained doubts as to the reading. My colleague, Professor C. R. Bowen, suggested the admirable emendation of "in this century" for "in this country." Through the kindness of Professor William L. Ropes, Librarian Emeritus of the Andover Seminary, I ascertain that the letter in possession of that library, while marked "copied," is unquestionably in Edwards's own penmanship and is a copy made by himself. It is a satisfaction to learn further from Professor Ropes that the letter "confirms indubitably your impression that the true reading is *century* and not *country*." With this emendation we are free to dismiss the view that Edwards was writing against American controversialists.

What then explains "the great noise about Arminianism in this part of the country" in 1734? Echoing this sentence of Edwards, Sereno Dwight says: "There was a prevailing tendency, in the county, and in the province, towards Arminianism." This is one of the instances where we are obliged to distinguish between the biographer's understanding and that of the man of whom he wrote. Dwight sees Arminianism on the slightest temptation. Not only has he this notion of widespread heresy, but in particular he seems to think that opposition to Edwards's views on the terms of church membership came from Arminian sympathy. But Edwards himself, after finishing his answer to Solomon Williams in that controversy, speaks of now proceeding to take up the subject of Arminianism as if it were a thing distinct (Letter to Erskine, Dwight's *Life*, 497), and in

the *Letter to the Northampton Parish* (iv., 598) he recognizes the soundness of Williams's theology. He fears that Williams's argument has dangerous consequences but he holds Williams to be unaware of them. Edwards himself is sparing in the suggestion of Arminianism in others. Four or five ministers of the county named for the council in his case are objected to because they "have heretofore *had the reputation* of Arminianism" (*Life*, p. 336). This was in 1749, when such reputations were easily acquired by objection to revival methods. Edwards styled his cousin, Joseph Hawley, "a man of lax principles in religion, falling in, in some essential things, with Arminianism" (*Life*, 410). This is a qualified statement and applies to a young layman who graduated from Yale two years after Whitefield's advent had driven many into the heresy. Hawley's intimacy with another cousin may account for the leaning to error, for Dwight—not Edwards—speaks of Israel Williams as strongly biassed in favor of Arminianism as early as 1734.[1] In 1749, Edwards speaks of the heresy as prevailing in another large town which he does not name and possibly he means Hatfield, where the all-powerful cousin, Israel Williams, reigned supreme until the arrival of Rev. Joseph Lyman. In this farewell sermon (*Life*, 649 ff.), Edwards speaks of the heresy as not actually present in his own parish, though there is danger that the rising generation may be affected. The error has made rapid progress in the country since 1742, while in 1734, when some of his hearers were alarmed about it, the danger was small. The other allusion to conditions in 1734 is in the *Narrative of Surprizing Conversions* (iv., 21): "About this time began the great noise that was in this part of the country about Arminianism." Many of the unconverted feared "that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to heterodoxy and

[1] The third opponent of Edwards in Dwight's enumeration, p. 307, must, in view of page 434, be the autocratic and arrogant Israel Williams, "the monarch of Hampshire," chief among "the river-gods" in the parlance of the time.

corrupt principles, and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past; and many who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths to their eternal undoing; and they seemed with much concern and engagedness of mind to inquire what was indeed the way in which they must come to be accepted with God." From this account it is quite obvious that the heresy was not propagated in Northampton. Edwards says that he was blamed "by such a person" for meddling with the controversy in the pulpit; and by the account of Dwight (*Life*, p. 434), the "such a person" was Israel Williams of Hatfield, already autocratic at the age of twenty-five (b.1709). We may credit the fact that Israel Williams was "strongly biassed" in favor of Arminianism, but in view of the language of Edwards himself, Dwight exaggerates in saying "there was a prevailing tendency, in the county, and in the province, towards Arminianism." All that we are warranted in saying is that in 1734 there were rumor and alarm about the arrival in the country of Arminian heresy, and that some hearing the report were tempted to doubt if orthodoxy were after all truth, yet were afraid to, lest doubt should bring them to perdition. Edwards obviously knows of no "prevailing tendency" to heresy. In another allusion made in 1742—after Whitefield's hue and cry—he asks those "that have hitherto been something inclining to Arminianism" to see that rejection of the revival will land them logically in Deism. "Something inclining to Arminianism" seems to be aversion to the revival meetings. But after 1742 the progress of the error was rapid. To Erskine, July 5, 1750, he expresses fear "that the younger generation will be carried away as with a flood," and on the following day, July 6th, probably with the same situation in mind, he wrote to McCulloch: "Arminianism and Pelagianism have made a strange progress within a few years. The Church of

England in New England is, I suppose, treble of what it was seven years ago." Here I believe is the clew to the whole matter. What Edwards saw and feared was not a spread of Arminianism among the Congregationalists, a desertion of old orthodoxy. It was the rise of Episcopalianism. If this is so, we can readily understand why Edwards reacted so strongly against terms of church membership which were bringing Congregational churches perilously near to the parish system of the Church of England. I believe that this is the true view and that it affords the only possible explanation of the great noise about Arminianism in 1734. Osborn's Irish eccentricities had not been heard of then. The rumors of aberration in young Breck of Springfield had just been heard of, but his alleged but repudiated Arminianism was a minor detail: the main point was his character. Nor can we suppose that the similar alleged but repudiated indiscretions of Kent in Marlborough made so much stir. On the other hand, we have direct evidence of alarm in Hampshire County about the inroads of the Episcopal propaganda in New England. On September 10, 1734, William Williams, Moderator, and Jonathan Edwards, Scribe, in the name of the Associated Ministers of the County of Hampshire addressed a letter to the Lord Bishop of London, which is found in Perry's *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts*, p. 299. It is a protest against the sending of Church of England missionaries. "The missionaries' attacks on our ministry," they say, "tend to breed disorder and confusion in our churches, by cherishing a small number of disaffected persons in several places, to the ill example of a whole town, produces wrangling, strifes, ill-names, needless disputations, instead of Godly Edifying, and tends to lead them to place religion rather in some external observations and ceremonies than in love to God and our neighbors, and in a life of Faith, Repentance, and Holiness." This letter was sent to Colman of Boston, who forwarded it to the Bishop of London with the comment: "My brethren, who live remote from Boston,

and hitherto quite out of the way of the Missions whereof they write in their Address to your Lordship" (Turell's *Life of Colman*, p. 141). Colman's apparent surprise can be easily met. The mission field on which the Hampshire clergy look with fear is not the neighborhood of Boston but Connecticut. Elisha Williams, son of the Hatfield Moderator, was Rector of Yale College and doubtless informed his kinsmen of the rapid and insidious inroads of Episcopalianism in Connecticut. In the rapid-fire controversy opened by John Checkley's *Modest Proof* in 1723, the strongest disputant against Episcopacy was Jonathan Dickinson, who was born in Hatfield. The Daniel Dwight (Yale, 1721) who in 1729 went to England for orders and the next year became a priest in South Carolina was a Northampton Dwight and his mother a Hatfield Partridge. Edwards himself had been in his youth acquainted with Samuel Johnson, the chief propagandist of Episcopalianism. The letter in Dwight's *Life*, p. 29 ff., shows that the unpopularity of Tutor Johnson was the cause of the withdrawal of Edwards and others from New Haven to Wethersfield. The Hampshire Protest says nothing of Arminianism as related to the Episcopalian invasion, but the association was always present to mind. When Cutler and Johnson left Yale to enter the Church of England, the Trustees of Yale, October 17, 1722, voted to secure from future teachers evidence of sound faith "in Opposition to Arminian and Prelatical Corruptions" (Thos. Clap, *History of Yale College*, p. 32; Foote, *King's Chapel*, i., 314). That the Yale converts were converts to Arminianism is implied in a letter of Joseph Morgan to Cotton Mather, printed in Dexter's *Yale Biographies*, i., p. 260. Indeed all the Congregational ministers who took English orders abandoned Calvinism (Slafter, *John Checkley or The Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay*, ii., 152).

That about 1734 the alarm over defections to Arminian Episcopalianism might be specially acute is evident from the

fact that in 1732 Rev. John Beach left the Congregational ministry in Stratford to take orders, and from Newtown, Conn., was an active missionary over a wide area; that in January, 1734, Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, of Groton, Conn., avowed himself a convert to the Church and returned from London in October as a missionary; that at Easter, 1734, the Rev. Jonathan Arnold of West Haven likewise entered the Church.

The controversial pamphlets had so far dealt almost entirely with the validity of ministry, but now in 1733 with Johnson's *Letter from a Minister of the Church of England* and the reply of John Graham, *Some Remarks*, etc., the question turns to Arminianism versus Calvinism. Johnson's *Second Letter*, etc., 1734, refuses the name "Arminian," but acknowledges something in common with Arminius and denies that the English articles are strictly Calvinist.

All these occurrences may well have stirred the Hampshire clergy to their protest, but it is highly probable that they had also been stirred by a recent publication. In 1734, two editions were published of a work by Rev. John White of Gloucester, brother-in-law of Cotton Mather. The title is *New England's Lamentations, under these Three Heads: The Decay of the Power of Godliness, The Danger of Arminian Principles, The Declining State of Our Church Order, Government and Discipline*, etc. White aims "to make a vigorous Essay, for the Faith and Order of these Churches of Chirst, at a Time when there is danger of a defection from both." After a classic lament of prevailing impiety comes a special complaint that young men being educated for the ministry look with favor on the Arminian scheme. Then follows an elaborate explanation of the heresy as if it were unfamiliar to the readers. The third part argues the need of ruling elders (by divine right) to aid the pastor in discipline. In this connection (p. 40 f.) there is a loud outcry against the cases of persons unwilling to submit to the censures of the churches and taking sanctuary in the Church of England.

Such apostates are warned that they are taking on themselves a yoke of bondage and that in the end they will have to pay "the vast sums expended for the Propagation of the Gospel, that is, for the bringing over our Churches to the Mother Church." White does not expressly say that the new favor to Arminianism and defection to the English Church go together, but the clergy of Hampshire already had cause to associate these things.

The Stigmata of Francis of Assisi

By

Henry Jacob Weber

THE STIGMATA OF FRANCIS OF ASSISI

By Henry Jacob Weber, Professor of Theology and Church History in the German Theological School of Newark, at Bloomfield, New Jersey

(*Read December 27, 1911*)

WITH hundreds of visitors the writer recently visited St. Anne de Beaupré, twenty miles out from Quebec, Canada, where over 150,000 pilgrims annually seek physical health or spiritual help at the noted French Catholic church. An onlooker is thrilled by the implicit faith of the pilgrims in the efficacy of the water bottled from the fountain at Beaupré and the life-giving power of relics in the hands of officiating priests, which relics the devotees devoutly kiss, seeking succor of some kind. The same uncritical spirit held even greater sway in the days of St. Francis, and is to the present day in evidence in the writings on Francis and other saints by Goerres, Edward Vogt, Montalembert, de Malan, Cotelle, M. Bihl, Beissel, Gassenmeyr, and others.

Francis was one of the greatest men of his day. As a youth he dreamt of glory. "I shall yet be a great prince," he exclaimed. And he became in truth a prince, but a prince in the Kingdom of the Lord of Lords. He was a living epistle of Christ, read by many. His life was an imitation of Christ. Deliberately he chose a life of poverty, hardship, and sacrifice, to show forth to the world the image of his Master, Jesus of Nazareth. His text, on which he spoke before a great concourse of people on the

way to Monte Alverno in 1224, was the motto of his life: "Tanto è il bene ch' io aspetto ch' ogni pena m'è diletto." (So great is the good I look for, that every hardship delights me.) The charm of his life, says Sabatier, is that we find the man behind the wonder-works. Francis, as Paul of old, knew nothing save Christ and Him crucified, and bore upon his body the stigmata of his ideal; whether literally or not is a question to be settled, if at all, by historical research. He, in his person, was a miracle of love and unstinted service to God and mankind, whether he received the stigmata through an angel, through auto-suggestion, through the activities of Elias, or through self-infliction.

Research since the days of Karl von Hase has made it possible to present to-day a more satisfactory report on the stigmata than fifty years ago. The town of Assisi cleaves like a swallow's nest to the central part of a mountain of the Apennines. Here Francis was born in 1182; here the first successor of Francis built a beautiful church to the memory of the stigmatized Francis, directly after the mortal remains of the saint had been brought thither in 1230. Karl von Hase sojourned here in 1852 when he began his pivotal and pious investigation of the trustworthiness of the various reports on the stigmatization, which investigation may be antiquated to some extent, but which no doubt has helped us to understand far better than heretofore the times of Francis and the story of the stigmata, for it is truly "a work of piety to seek behind the legend for the history."[1]

I. *The Reports on the Stigmata.*

The first witness of the stigmata is Brother Elias, 1226. As Vicar-general, Elias, on the very first day after the death of Francis, sent letters to the entire Order announcing the sad event, and adding: "I announce to you a great joy

[1] *Cf.* Karl von Hase, *Heiligenbilder: Franz von Assisi, Caterina von Siena;* Leipzig, Breitkopf und Haertel, 1892.

and a new miracle. Never has the world seen such a sign, except on the Son of God, who is the Christ-God. Not long before his death ("non diu ante mortem") our Brother and Father appeared as crucified, having in his body five wounds, which are truly the stigmata of Christ, for his hands and his feet bore marks as of nails without and within, forming a sort of scars; while at the side he was as if pierced with a lance; and often a little blood exuded from it (evaporavit).[1] P. Sabatier, *Vie de Saint François*, Paris, 1894, prefers the reading "Nam diu ante mortem" which Abbé Amoni has in his text of the letter of Elias, published at the close of his *Legenda Trium Sociorum*, Rome, 1880. Sabatier evidently prefers this reading of Amoni so as to place the stigmatization in the year 1224 on the Alverno; but shrewd Abbé Amoni in 1880 published this *revised* text without giving to us the source of his new reading. Dr. Joseph Merkt (*Die Wundenmale des heil. Franciscus von Assisi*, 1910, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner) has proven that the corrections and revisions of Amoni are arbitrary changes.[2] It looks as if Amoni desired to invalidate the conclusions of Hase by changing "non diu" into "nam diu." This letter of Brother Elias is considered by Hase, Hampe, and Merkt to be the only satisfactory starting-point for the solution of the problem of the time of the stigmatization of Francis, because Elias is the earliest recorded eye-witness of the stigmatization.

Thomas of Celano (*Vita Prima S. Francisci*) nowhere assumes to have been an eye-witness of the stigmatization of Francis. Bonaventura's report (*Legenda Major*) is often clumsy and awakens doubt; and Sabatier says Matthew Paris's *Historia Major* barely deserves being cited. Celano asserts that Ruffino was permitted, during personal administration to Francis, to touch the always bleeding wound in

[1] See original of letter of Elias, Merkt, p. 22.

[2] See also Hampe, *Historische Zeitschrift*, von Friedrich Meinecke, 3d vol., p. 394 ff., Muenchen, 1906.

the side of Francis; but when Ruffino himself takes pen in hand, he makes no statement to justify this. Neither does Leo, who was confessor and secretary to Francis, assert any personal knowledge of the wounds. Nor does Leo affirm that he saw the wounds of Francis during the latter's lifetime.

Hase (*Heiligenbilder*, pp. 122–126) takes the standpoint that the writing of Elias is the basis of all later reports and representations; that we here stand at the source of the stigmata; that the truth or fiction of the wounds of the holy Francis rests upon the testimony of this worldly-wise man ("Das Schreiben des Elias ist die Grundlage aller spaeteren Vorstellungen. Hier stehen wir am Quell der Wundenmale. Auf dieses weltklugen Mannes Zeugniss ist die Wahrheit der Wundmale des heil. Franciscus gestellt"). Merkt agrees with this position and adds that the papal bulls do not assert that the writers are eye-witnesses, nor do they consider their reports as based on an independent tradition.

The report of the Tres Socii must be eliminated as a source for the facts of the life of Francis, as this report is a late compilation.[1] Since the death of Karl von Hase two new sources for the history of Francis have been discovered, *i. e.*, the second *Vita Francisci* by Celano and a treatise *On the Miracles*, which belong chronologically to the first generation of Minorites. But as all later reports have been expanded through the activity of a vivid religious imagination, therefore only the early reports, in fact only the report of Elias, can be accepted as credible in detail, because it bears more decided marks of personal knowledge than any of the other reports.

Celano begins the work of expanding the story on the stigmatization. Elias speaks of *scars* or depressions formed as if by nails. A few years later Celano knows of nails protruding from the wounds. Bonaventura advances another step.

[1] *Cf.* Hampe, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 3d vol., p. 389.

In his treatise the nails are known to be formed by divine power out of the flesh of the saint and become hard muscle; the side wound has now the form of a beautiful rose. And Bonaventura furthermore reports that the water in which the living Francis washed his stigmatized hands cured a prevalent disease among cattle, restored a frozen man to life, etc. If this were true, would Elias then have been able to report a new miracle? In view of such changes in the statements about the stigmata of Francis, we must concur with Hampe that nothing beyond the letter of Elias is historically of great value.

II. *The Time of the Appearance of the Stigmata.*

When did the wounds of Francis become apparent? The consensus of modern historians is that the stigmatization took place in the isolation of Mt. Alverno in Sept., 1224, when Francis was 42 years old. Thus Zoeckler, *RE*[3] s. v. *Franz.* But "non diu ante mortem frater et pater noster apparuit crucifixus" in the letter of Elias cannot be stretched to mean "*two years* before death our brother and father appeared as crucified." That Amoni's edition of the letter of Elias, which reads "nam diu," is replete with printer's mistakes and arbitrary corrections, has once before been stated. Add to this the fact that Roger of Wendover, who died 1236, informs us that the stigmata appeared two weeks before the death of Francis, and it becomes evident that the reading of Amoni and Sabatier "nam diu" is unreliable. Elias knew nothing of the origin of the wounds of Francis in 1224 on Mt. Alverno, otherwise he would not have reported the stigmata as a new miracle. And it cannot readily be conceived that Francis could have hidden his wounds on hands and feet for a period of more than two years with such success, so that the wounds made the deep impression of a new miracle performed in connection with the death of Francis.

If we compare the first and second *Vita* by Celano, we receive the impression that the contemporaries of Celano uttered doubts as regards the wounds of Francis, because they had been unknown even to the most intimate friends of Francis. We are told, not in the first but in the second *Vita*, that Francis rarely washed his whole hands, but only the fingertips; that he clothed his feet with woollen stockings and washed the feet secretly; and that he wore underwear reaching to the shoulders, modern union suits, so as to cover his side-wound.

All these efforts to show that Francis could hide his wounds for two years rather prove that he did not have them so long a time. The legendary growth can furthermore be readily shown in what is said about the form of the wounds in hands and feet: first they are depressions, dark, as if they had not been kept clean; later they are elevations in the shape of nail-heads on the one side of the hands and feet, and muscle-like nail-points on the other side of hands and feet. The legend amplifies.

III. *The Origin of the Stigmata*

Conceding, as it seems necessary, that the body of Francis at his death showed some kind of wounds, the question is: How can we explain them? Accepting the stigmatization of Francis as an historic fact, we must seek to understand the fact. The various solutions offered are that the stigmata were produced:

(1) through a direct supernatural agency;
(2) through auto-suggestion;
(3) through fraud, or the activities of Elias;
(4) through self-infliction.

First Theory: The stigmatization was produced through a direct supernatural agency.

As a red thread the endeavor runs through all investigations of the life of Francis by Roman Catholic authors to

maintain the miraculous origin of the stigmata. *Michael Bihl* (Fulda) presents the present-day Catholic position, in an article entitled "Die Stigmata des heil. Franciscus von Assisi," in *Historisches Jahrbuch* von Joseph Weiss, Muenchen, Herder & Co., 1907, vol. 28, p. 529 ff. He accepts unrestrictedly the statements of the *Benedictio Leonis* and of the first and second *Vita* written by Celano, to wit, that the stigmata of Francis appeared two years before the death of Francis, during a fast of Francis, August 16 to September 29, 1224, on his beloved mount "La Verna."

Bihl closes his criticism of Hampe with the words: "Without entering upon fundamental philosophico-metaphysical or apologetical questions on transcendental and miraculous powers, we take the position that it is the right of the historian, who judges objectively, to hold fast to the testimony of the sources which cannot be disproven by historical objections. On the basis of this testimony the unprejudiced investigator will establish, that the stigmata of the holy Francis originated in consequence of a vision which he had on the heights of La Verna in an ecstatic condition two years before his demise." ("Ohne uns auf philosophisch-metaphysische oder apologetische Prinzipienfragen einzulassen ueber transzendentale Kraefte und Wundermaechte halten wir dafuer, es sei das Recht des objektiv urteilenden Historikers, an den mit historischen Einwaenden nicht anzugreifenden Quellenaussagen festzuhalten. Auf Grund derselben wird der unvoreingenommene Forscher festlegen, dass die Stigmata des heil. Franciscus entstanden seien infolge einer Erscheinung, die ihm auf den Hoehen von La Verna zwei Jahre vor seinem Hinscheiden zuteil geworden war im Zustande ekstatischer Erregung.") Leon Le Monnier, *Les Stigmates de St. François*, 1908, and Th. Cotelle, *St. François d'Assise: Étude Médicale*, Paris, 1905, offer the same explanation. These writers at the outset desire to defend the miraculous character of the stigmata of St. Francis; they will therefore not concede the interdependence

of the various sources in the writings on Francis, nor do they concede to a satisfactory degree the activity "der weiterspinnenden Taetigkeit der Legende," as Merkt expresses himself. Cotelle, in his medical study, uses without reserve the report of Bonaventura and comes to the conclusion that Francis had "nail-formations composed of flesh and so connected that a pressure on the one side caused the formations to protrude on the other side. Such formations—he says—cannot be explained as caused by self-mutilation or suggestion or auto-suggestion and have no medical analoga. There remains but one solution: the acceptance of the intervention of a supernatural, divine agency." It is true that the stigmata as described by Celano and Bonaventura present to a natural explanation insurmountable difficulties. But it amounts to a sinful transgression of the principles of historical criticism to use the legendary reports of Celano and Bonaventura as basis of a scientific investigation. The fresco in the Baptistery of Parma is a clear proof of the fact that the vision on La Verna had nothing to do originally with the stigmatization of Francis, for this fresco surrounds Francis with a halo but does not show him as stigmatized. H. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, Berlin, 1904, p. 75, holds that this fresco antedates the canonization of Francis in 1228. This fresco corroborates the impression gained from the reports on the vision on Mt. Alverno, to wit, that the vision of Francis is based on Isaiah vi. and had nothing to do with the crucifixion or the stigmatization at the outset. Gregory IX. is also a proof for the historic fact, that Francis did not bear the stigmata on his body in 1224, for Gregory as Cardinal in 1224 met Francis in Rieti in close companionship several times, yea, kissed his hands, nevertheless in 1228 he doubted the early existence and miraculous nature of the stigmata of Francis.

Second Theory: The wounds were the result of auto-suggestion.

The possibility that the stigmata of Francis were produced

by auto-suggestion is conceded by many modern non-Catholic and Catholic writers. Hase held this theory many years. Hamberger (*RE*³, vol. xix., p. 45) and the New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia*, vol. xi., p. 96, say that "the phenomenon may be explained in a natural way. The human soul possesses not only normal but what pass as abnormal powers. A work of art, for instance, owes its origin not merely to reason, but also to a subconscious instinct for creation. The same instinct appears in dream-life, while unconscious powers direct the functions of the human organism. It is noteworthy that St. Francis suffered from morbid conditions from which an excess of physic influence upon a morbidly inclined and weak body is intelligible."

This explanation of the stigmata does not consider them miraculous but natural, as a phenomenon known in and outside of religious circles. Zoeckler, *RE*³, vol. vi., p. 202, in his extended article on Francis, takes this same standpoint, stating positively that Francis received the bleeding and painful wounds, as Christ bore them, in the year 1224 in the seclusion of Mt. Alverno, during a period of rigorous fasting and uninterrupted meditation. Zoeckler lays stress upon the close connection between the long fasting after the pattern of Matthew iv., 2, and the appearance of the wounds; the fasting, the intense religious excitement and the seraph vision produced the stigmatization, unless, and here Zoeckler opens a new vista, the phenomenon be explained as self-mutilation is a semi-conscious condition of the ecstatically aroused saint. Paul Sabatier, *Vie de Saint François*, translated by Louise Seymour Houghton, Scribners, 1894, has appended to his life of St. Francis a critical study of the stigmata. Sabatier is on some questions a liberal; to him the miracle is immoral, "as the equality of all before God is one of the postulates of the religious consciousness. The miracle, that good pleasure of God, only degrades him to the level of the capricious tyrants of the earth." If, on the other hand, we call miracle all that goes

beyond ordinary experience, then Sabatier is willing to concede the reality of the stigmatization, as there are in the human creature almost indefinite powers, like mathematical power or musical ability of an infant prodigy. The testimony in reference to the stigmata of Francis is to Sabatier too abundant and too precise not to command conviction. Therefore, the wounds are to him a unique fact without being miraculous. Sabatier scorns the idea of a religious fraud perpetrated by Elias and credulously accepts the report of Celano as "veracious and exact." In his summary Sabatier lays stress:

1. On the preponderating place of the passion of Jesus in the consciousness of Francis ever since his conversion;

2. On the great increase of mystical fervor in St. Francis since his sojourn on La Verna;

3. On the observance by Francis of a Lent in 1224 in honor of the archangel St. Michael;

4. On the blending of the ideas of the angels and the crucifix in the vision of the crucified seraph.

To Sabatier this perfect congruity between the circumstances and the prodigy itself forms a moral proof, whose value cannot be exaggerated. Although critical as regards miracles, he is not at all critical in comparing the first and second *Life of Francis* by Celano. He forgets his own remark (Introduction, p. 33), that in general the official historians of Francis have done him ill service; that their embellishments have hidden the real Francis. Nor is he even careful in so readily accepting the reading "nam diu" for "non diu" in the letter of Elias.

The reason is not far to find. Sabatier, an exceedingly sympathetic student of the life of Francis, accepts the altogether untrustworthy "nam diu" of Abbé Amoni so as to place the act of the stigmatization on La Verna where Francis was even more absorbed than usual in his ardent desire to suffer for Jesus and with Him. Sabatier depicts very vividly the situation on La Verna, "the Tabor and Calvary of

Francis," in the following words: "The vision of the Crucified One took the fuller possession of his faculties as the day of the Elevation of the Holy Cross drew near (September 14th). Francis doubled his fastings and prayers, quite transformed into Jesus by love and compassion. He passed the night before the festival alone in prayer. In the morning he had a vision. In the rays of the rising sun he suddenly perceived a strange form. A seraph with outspread wings flew toward him from the edge of the horizon, and bathed his soul in raptures unutterable. In the centre of the vision appeared a cross and the seraph was nailed upon it. When the vision disappeared, he felt sharp sufferings mingling with the ecstasy of the first moments. Stirred to the very depths of his being he was anxiously seeking the meaning of it all when he perceived upon his body the stigmata of the Crucified."

Sabatier does not state that Francis received the stigmata through direct divine agency, but rather through auto-suggestion, in his endeavor to renew in his body the passion of Christ. If we read Sabatier correctly, he holds that Paul was literally crucified with Christ somehow while living, and that Francis could so perfectly enter into his Master's thought in absorption, that the five wounds were a consequence of his soul-union with Christ. But the latest critical researches of Karl Hampe and Joseph Merkt have established the general conclusions of Karl von Hase to the extent, that we have a certain direct report of an eye-witness on the stigmata of Francis only in the announcement of the death of Francis by Elias. Leo and Thomas of Celano do not affirm that they were eye-witnesses of the stigmata.[1] Merkt offers the same solution as Sabatier of the wounds of Francis, but places the origin of the wounds in the closing days of the life of the saint. "The sufferings of our Saviour were the contents of his thoughts in his dying hours. Once more his whole longing was centred in Christ. With the whole fervor of his love for the Crucified One he sought to

[1] See Merkt, p. 27, and Hampe, p. 393.

take part in the sufferings of his Master. In this moment the *will to power* seems to have gained the victory over the frail worn-out body, and the mind reacted upon the organism," and thus the stigmata on the body of Francis appeared, according to Merkt.

Third Theory: The wounds a fraud.

Karl von Hase presents this entirely different view. In his well-known monograph on Francis he attributes to Elias the fabrication of the stigmata on the person of his dead master directly after his death, before the burial on the next morning. Hase correctly affirms that the report of Elias on the stigmata bears more decided marks of personal knowledge than any of the other reports, and is the first intimation of the miracle that we find recorded. Furthermore, it is definitely stated in the reports on the death of Francis that he caused himself to be stripped of his clothing and laid perfectly naked upon the ground, for he wished to die in the arms of his Lady Poverty. In reference to the possibility of a naked man's ability to hide his wounds, Bonaventura saw criticism forthcoming. Therefore he adds: "Francis covered the wound of the right side with his left hand"; but then again the wound on his left hand would have been clearly visible. Hase dares, therefore, to speak not merely of the vivid imagination of the brethren of the cloister, but of the cloister lies ("Klosterluegen") of later generations in connection with Francis. The doubts of Hase were enhanced by the fact that Francis's funeral took place with surprising precipitation. Dead on Saturday evening Francis was buried Sunday morning. His body was enclosed in a coffin, which was contrary to Italian habits. In 1230, at the time of the removal or translation, the body, wrested from the multitude, is so carefully hidden in the basilica that for centuries its precise place is unknown. The bull of canonization in 1228 makes no mention of the stigmata. The wounds were not generally admitted without a contest, and among those who denied them were bishops.

Hase contends that as no public inquest was held, which could have been done so readily even years after the death of Francis so as to ascertain the truth in full, therefore the stigmata are to be considered either as the pious invention of Elias or were created hurriedly on the deceased founder of the great order. The latest writers on Francis, like Sabatier, Hampe, and Merkt, do not hold the able argument of Hase to be conclusive, and personally I consider Hase's view as not well founded, as Elias can hardly have had enough of time and privacy to perpetrate the fraud. The early burial of the dead was a custom of the times. Innocent III., dying at Perugia July 16, 1216, is interred July 17th; Honorius III. dies March 18, 1227, and is buried the next day. The coffin was necessary, as even under these circumstances hair and remnants of clothing of Francis were taken from the dead saint, according to Jordanus a Jano (see Merkt, p. 19). Hampe, in his article of 1906 in *Historische Zeitschrift*, comes to the conclusion that the stigmata of Francis were not the result of imagination or fraud, but that they may have been caused by auto-suggestion, or may have been spots on the diseased body of the saint, which spots appeared to the excited imagination of the brethren as the stigmata of Christ; or the wounds may have been caused by self-mutilation.

Fourth Theory: The stigmata were produced by self-mutilation.

This explanation seems most reasonable to any person who has read the treatise of Merkt on the question and the latest article of Hampe in the *Internationale Wochenschrift fuer Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik, Nov. 19, 1910.*[1] The material collected by Merkt and Hampe proves conclusively that the thought of imitating the sufferings of Christ by self-infliction of the five wounds of Christ was "in the air" in the thirteenth century. It was a new form of morbid asceticism. O. Zoeckler, *Askese und Moenchtum*, 2 vols.,

[1] Compare also W. Goetz, *Assisi*, Leipzig 1906, p. 55.

Frankfurt, 1897, in vol. ii., cites many instances of self-mutilation by means of heated crosses of brass, the cutting out of portions of meat from one's own body, etc. At the Council of Oxford, 1222, an English peasant and his female companion were condemned by said council to eternal imprisonment on bread and water, because he had inflicted upon himself the wounds of the Son of God, and she had by means of unknown mutilation "made herself the Virgin Mary."

Hase's suggestion of a perpetrated fraud is not convincing, because Francis was surrounded by many brethren at his death, because the time between the death of Francis and his burial was too brief for the successful perpetration of the fraud, especially as all Assisi came pouring down toward the Portiuncula at the great news. The fact that Francis was put into a coffin against the custom of his time is readily explained, as has been suggested above, if we remember what relic-hunters these mediæval Christians were, how they disfigured Elizabeth of Marburg, how anxiously they pulled even the hair out of the tail of the animal on which Peter of Amiens rode. A dead saint was worth more to Assisi than a living saint. Mrs. Oliphant (*Life of Francis of Assisi*) is correct in asserting that it is hard to disbelieve all evidence against the stigmata, to wit, the vagueness of assertion, the absolute silence of Francis; but it is almost equally impossible to believe that Leo, Angelo, and Ruffino were setting their seal to an absolute lie or to a fraud carried out by the shrewd Elias. Therefore, self-mutilation in a conscious or semi-conscious state is most plausible.

Other instances of self-multilation in those days confirm our view. Of the Marquis Robert of Montferrand, who died 1234, it is reported by Stephen de Borbone in 1249, that many years before his death he bore the stigmata of our Lord upon his body, and that on every Friday in commemoration of the passion of Christ he pierced his flesh with nails until the blood poured forth. The hermit Dodon of Hasha in the Netherlands lived five years in his hermitage;

when he died, 1231, there were found "open wounds in his hands and feet and in the right side similar to the wounds of Christ, so that he could truly say with Paul: "I bear the stigmata of my Lord Jesus Christ upon my body." But this no one knew before his death but God. Strange to say, the report does not consider these stigmata (aperta vulnera) as miracles; the inference is, rather, very clearly made in the report that the reporter considered the wounds as self-inflicted.

Francis was a literal-minded man like Robert of Montferrand and Dodon of Hasha, who might in all simplicity have impressed such marks on himself. This suggestion of Hausrath and Mrs. Oliphant seems to offer the best solution of the question as regards the origin of the stigmata. Francis longed to share the agony of Jesus Christ, as he shared the redemption. His heart was all aflame with desire to be one with the Master. If Origen dared to mutilate himself for the Gospel's sake, why not Francis for his Master's sake, as somewhat earlier other ascetics had done?

Our modern analogous cases of the stigmatization are not perfectly analogous; many of them may be explained by auto-suggestion. But Elias says in his letter that the hands and feet of Francis bore marks "as of nails fixed without and within, forming a sort of scars, or keeping the scars, and showing the blackness of nails. ("Quasi puncturas clavorum habuerunt ex utraque parte confixas, reservantes cicatrices et clavorum nigredinem ostendentes."—Merkt, p. 22.)

The brief and trustworthy report of Elias favors self-infliction. This is made even more plausible if we consider the utter disregard for the welfare of the body in Francis's life. In his counsel to the friars he says: "Every one has in his power his enemy, namely the body, through which he sins." (Sabatier, p. 41.) Add hereto our other citations of self-mutilation in the thirteenth century and the words of Celano that "Francis caused his body to undergo castigations

and deprivations and without necessity inflicted his body with many wounds," and it then seems almost certain that Francis, in ecstasy or otherwise, punctured his own body. Mary of Oignies in Belgium, the pious Beghine who died 1213, in ecstatic condition literally dissected her body, cut pieces of flesh out of her body and buried them. Why should Francis not have tortured himself similarly, so as to be more like Christ? For he longed to follow literally every step of that life of lives. He who literally threw off his shoes and put aside his staff, would he not be tempted to impress literally on his body the five wounds of his beloved Master? Francis did not pride himself on the stigmata; in his humility he avoided publicity—and when the stigmata became known after his death, these self-inflicted wounds were heralded forth as a wonderful and new miracle. But the reasons given for the canonization of Francis do not include his stigmata, apparently because there existed doubt in ecclesiastical quarters as to their divine origin. Even Gregory IX. doubted their superhuman origin. The stigmata are to be considered not so much as inexplicable miracles of grace, as rather evidences of religious eccentricities in times of unnatural religious enthusiasm, as "reservantes cicatrices," remaining scars of self-mutilation.

Not the wounds have made Francis great, but his devotion to his Master. Nor have the stigmata wrought the miracles attributed to them, but his love for God and man will ever work the miracle of redemption in those who follow Francis, as he followed his Master; for, as Karl von Hase says, God does not look at the coat or the stigmata but rather at the inner man. And the man Francis was a saint in word and deed.

LIST OF MEMBERS

ADDISON, DANIEL DULANY, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of All Saints' Church, Brookline, Mass.; D.D. (Union College, 1901).

ALLISON, WILLIAM HENRY, Baptist, Rev.; dean, and professor of Ecclesiastical History, Colgate Theological Seminary, Hamilton, N. Y.; Ph.D. (University of Chicago, 1905).

AYER, JOSEPH CULLEN, JR., Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1893).

BAIRD, ANDREW BROWNING, Presbyterian, Rev.; acting principal, and professor of Church History, Manitoba College, Winnipeg, Canada; D.D. (Knox College, Toronto).

BALLANTYNE, JAMES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Knox College, Toronto, Canada; D.D. (Manitoba College, 1906; Queens University, 1908).

BROWN, WILLIAM MONTGOMERY, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Arkansas (retired); D.D. (Kenyon College, 1898; University of the South, 1899).

BUCKLEY, JAMES MUNROE, Methodist, Rev.; editor of *The New York Christian Advocate;* D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1869), LL.D. (Emory and Henry College, 1882).

BURR, GEORGE LINCOLN, layman; professor of Medieval History in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; LL.D. (University of Wisconsin, 1904), Litt.D. (Western Reserve University, 1905).

BURRAGE, CHAMPLIN, Baptist, layman; Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, England; (Newton Theological Institution, 1899); B.Litt. (Oxford), Hon. M. A. (Brown University).

CARTER, JAMES, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History and Sociology in Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.

CHORLEY, EDWARD CLOWES, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Philip's, Garrison-on-Hudson, N. Y.

CHRISTIAN, JOHN TYLER, Baptist, Rev.; pastor of the second Baptist Church, Little Rock, Ark.; D.D. (Bethel College, Ky., 1890), LL.D. (Keachie College, La., 1898).

CHRISTIE, FRANCIS ALBERT, Unitarian, layman; professor of Church History in Meadville Theological Seminary, Pa.; D.D. (Amherst College, 1909).

CLARK, CALVIN MONTAGUE, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine.

COE, EDWARD BENTON, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; senior minister of the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, New York City; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1881), LL.D. (Rutgers College, 1893), S.T.D. (Yale University, 1885).

COLEMAN, CHRISTOPHER BRUSH, Disciples of Christ, layman; professor of History and acting professor of Church History, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind.; B.D. (University of Chicago, 1899).

CORWIN, EDWARD TANJORE, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; res. North Branch, New Jersey; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1872).

DEMAREST, WILLIAM HENRY STEELE, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; president of Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1901).

DE WITT, JOHN, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, N. J.; D.D. (Princeton College, 1877), LL.D. (Hanover College, 1888).

DOSKER, HENRY ELIAS, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Louisville Theological Seminary, Ky.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1894), LL.D. (Central University of Kentucky, 1905).

DWIGHT, HENRY OTIS, Congregationalist, Rev.; Recording Secretary of the American Bible Society, New York City; LL.D. (Amherst College, 1896).

EVJEN, JOHN O., Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History in Augsburg Theological Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn.; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1903).

FARR, FINIS KING, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History and Missions, Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio; D.D. (Missouri Valley College).

FAULKNER, JOHN ALFRED, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.; D.D. (Wesleyan University, 1897, Acadia College, 1902).

FERGUSON, HENRY, Episcopalian, Rev.; 123 Vernon St., Hartford, Conn.; LL.D. (Trinity College, 1900).

FERREE, BARR, Publisher, New York City.

FINLEY, JOHN H., Presbyterian, layman; president of the College of the City of New York; LL.D.

FLICK, ALEXANDER CLARENCE, Methodist, layman; professor of European History in Syracuse University; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1901), Litt.D. (Otterbein University, 1904).

FORSANDER, NILS, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Theology in the Augustana Theological Seminary, Paxton, Ill.; D.D. (Augustana College, 1894).

FOSTER, FRANK HUGH, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of History in Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan; Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1882), D.D. (Chicago Theological Seminary, 1894, Olivet, College, 1909).

FRITSCHEL, GEORGE JOHN, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History in Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

GOOD, JAMES ISAAC, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Reformed Church History and Liturgics in the Central Theological Seminary, Dayton, O.; D.D. (Ursinus College, 1887); L.L.D. (Ursinus College; 1911).

GREENE, WALTER LACKEY, Seventh Day Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History and Religious Education in Alfred Theological Seminary, Alfred, N. Y.; B.D. (Alfred Theological Seminary, 1905).

HAYS, ARTHUR ALEXANDER, Presbyterian, Rev.; adjunct professor of Church History in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; B.D. (McCormick Seminary, 1909).

HERMAN, THEODORE FREDERICK, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (German) Church, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1910).

HÖRMANN, ARTHUR, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of History, Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.; Ph.D. (Berlin, 1902).

HOOD, EDMUND LYMAN, Congregationalist, Rev.; president of Atlanta Theological Seminary; Ph.D. (New York University, 1899).

HORR, GEORGE EDWIN, Baptist, Rev.; president of Newton Theological Institution; D.D. (Brown University, 1896).

HOWLAND, ARTHUR CHARLES, professor of Medieval History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1897).

HULBERT, HENRY WOODWARD, Congregationalist, Rev.; pastor of the High Street Congregational Church, Portland, Me.; D.D. (Middlebury College, 1900, Marietta College, 1900).

JACOBS, HENRY EYSTER, Lutheran, Rev.; dean of the Mt. Airy Lutheran Theological Seminary, Phila., Pa.; D.D. (Pennsylvania College, 1877), LL.D. (Thiel College, 1892), S.T.D. (Muhlenberg College, 1907).

JENKS, ARTHUR WHIPPLE, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History, General Theological Seminary, New York City; D.D. (Dartmouth College, 1911).

JOHNSON, EDWARD PAYSON, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; professor of Church History and Church Government in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1896).

JOHNSON, JESSE, United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Apologetics, Xenia Theological Seminary, Xenia, Ohio; D.D. (Grove City College, 1897).

JOHNSON, THOMAS CARY, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History and Polity in the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va.; D.D. (Hampden-Sidney College, 1891), LL.D. (Hampden-Sidney College, 1899).

KINSMAN, FREDERICK JOSEPH, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Delaware; D.D. (Berkeley Divinity School, 1909).

LEONARD, WILLIAM ANDREW, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; Bishop of Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; D.D. (St. Stephen's College, Annandale, 1880, Washington and Lee University, 1885).

LYTTLE, CHARLES HAROLD, layman, Williams Fellow in Harvard Divinity School; S.T.B. (Meadville Theological School, 1910).

MACCRACKEN, HENRY MITCHELL, Presbyterian, Rev.; chancellor of New York University, 1891–1910; D.D. (Wittenberg College, 1878), LL.D. (Miami University, 1887, New York University, 1910).

MCGIFFERT, ARTHUR CUSHMAN, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Ph.D. (Marburg, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1892, Harvard University, 1906).

MCGLOTHLIN, WILLIAM JOSEPH, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; D.D. (Bethel College, 1898), Ph.D. (Berlin, 1901), LL.D. (Furman University, 1909).

MACMILLAN, KERR DUNCAN, Presbyterian, layman; instructor in Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; B.D. (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1897).

MILLER, EDWARD WAITE, Reformed (Dutch), Rev.; pastor of the Sixth Reformed (Dutch) Church of Albany, N. Y.; D.D. (Union College, 1892).

MITCHELL, EDWIN KNOX, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Græco-Roman and Eastern Church History in Hartford Theological Seminary; D.D. (Marietta College, 1896).

MOLDENHAUER, J. VALDEMAR, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, N. Y.

MONCRIEF, JOHN WILDMAN, Baptist, Associate professor of Church History, in Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.; D.D. (Denison University, 1904).

NEWMAN, ALBERT HENRY, Baptist, Rev.; dean, and professor of Church History, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas; D.D. (Mercer University), LL.D. (Southwestern Baptist University).

NICHOLS, ROBERT HASTINGS, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.; Ph.D. (Yale University).

NORCROSS, GEORGE, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor-emeritus of the Second Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa.; D.D. (Princeton College, 1879).

O'CONNELL, DENNIS JOSEPH, Roman Catholic; bishop of Richmond; Richmond, Virginia; S.T.D. (Propaganda of Rome, 1877).

PATERSON, CHARLES GORDON, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in San Francisco Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal.

RAUSCHENBUSCH, WALTER, Baptist, Rev.; professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary, N. Y.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1902).

REED, RICHARD CLARK, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina; D.D. (King College, 1890), LL.D. (King College, 1906).

RHINELANDER, PHILIP MERCER, Episcopalian, Rt. Rev.; bishop of Pennsylvania; Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Columbia University, 1912).

RICHARDS, GEORGE WARREN, Reformed (German), Rev.; professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, Lancaster, Pa.; D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1902).

Riggs, James Forsyth, Presbyterian, Rev.; pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.; D.D. (Rutgers College, 1892).

Robinson, James Howard, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada; B.D. (Union Theological Seminary, New York City, 1911).

Rockwell, William Walker, Congregationalist, Rev.; assistant professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; Lic. Theol. (Marburg, 1903).

Rowe, Henry Kalloch, Baptist; assistant professor of Church History, Newton Theological Institution; Ph.D. (Boston University, 1905).

Ruston, William Otis, Presbyterian, Rev.; dean and professor of Sacred Languages and Literature, German Presbyterian Theological School of the Northwest, Dubuque, Iowa; D.D. (Lenox College, 1886), LL.D. (Lenox College, 1907).

Scratchley, Henry Peter, Episcopalian, Rev.; headmaster of St. John's school, Salina, Kansas.

Severance, Allen Dudley, Presbyterian; professor of History, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Sheldon, Henry Clay, Methodist, Rev.; professor of Systematic Theology in Boston University; D.D. (Lawrence University, 1887).

Show, Arley Barthlow, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Medieval History in Stanford University, California.

Simpson, Samuel, Congregationalist, Rev.; res. Tolland, Conn.; Ph.D. (Hartford Theological Seminary, 1902).

SMITH, PRESERVED, Congregationalist, layman; Kellogg Fellow in Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.; Ph.D. (Columbia University, 1907).

SPIEKER, GEORGE FREDERICK, Lutheran, Rev.; professor of Church History, Old Testament Theology, and Introduction in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.; D.D. (Roanoke College, 1887), LL.D. (Thiel College, 1911).

STEWART, MARSHALL BOWYER, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; B.D. (General Theological Seminary, 1906).

STUART, CHARLES MACAULAY, Methodist, Rev.; editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, Chicago, Ill.; D.D. (Garrett Biblical Institute, 1885, Wesleyan University, 1906), Litt.D. (Syracuse University, 1904, Ohio Wesleyan University, 1909).

SWING, ALBERT TEMPLE, Congregationalist, Rev.; professor of Church History, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; D.D. (Oberlin College, 1901).

THOMAS, ALLEN CLAPP, Friends; Minister; emeritus professor of History, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

TIDBALL, THOMAS ALLEN, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.; D.D. (William and Mary College, 1878).

TRYON, HAROLD HARRISON, Presbyterian; instructor in Biblical Philology and Church History in Union Theological Seminary, New York City; B.D. (*ibid.*, 1904).

VEDDER, HENRY CLAY, Baptist; professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.; D.D. (University of Rochester, 1897).

WALKER, CURTIS HOWE, Congregationalist, layman; assistant professor of History, University of Chicago; Ph.D. (Yale, 1905).

WALKER, WILLISTON, Congregationalist; professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University; Ph.D (Leipzig, 1888), D.D. (Western Reserve University, 1894, Amherst College, 1895, Yale University, 1901, University of Geneva, Switzerland, 1909, Harvard University, 1912).

WASHBURN, HENRY BRADFORD, Episcopalian, Rev.; professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

WATERMAN, LUCIUS, Episcopalian, Rev.; rector of St. Thomas's Church, Hanover, N. H.; D.D. (Trinity College, Hartford, 1892).

WEBER, HENRY JACOB, Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Theology and Church History in the German Theological School of Newark, N. J. (Bloomfield, N. J.); Ph.D. (University of Pennsylvania, 1894), D.D. (German Theological School of Newark, N. J., 1909).

WILSON, JOHN A., United Presbyterian, Rev.; professor of Church History in Allegheny Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.; D.D. (Monmouth College, Illinois, 1887; Wooster University, Ohio, 1887; Amity College, Iowa, 1887); LL. D. (Wabash College, 1903).

*** *Members are requested to communicate to the Secretary any corrections or additions to the data contained in this list.*

STATISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP.

	Living	Deceased
1908 (Vol.I.)	61	4
1910 (" II.)	60	14
1912 (" III.)	90	15

DECEASED MEMBERS

ALLEN, ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD, died in Cambridge, Mass., Wednesday, July 1, 1908.

BACON, LEONARD WOOLSEY, died at Assonet, Mass., Sunday, May 12, 1907.

DRURY, JOHN BENJAMIN, died in New Brunswick, N. J., Sunday, March 21, 1909.

EWELL, JOHN LEWIS, died in Washington, D.C., Wednesday, March 16, 1910.

HULBERT, ERI BAKER, died in Chicago, Ill., Sunday, February 17, 1907.

JACKSON, GEORGE ANSON, died at Swampscott, Mass., Wednesday, May 8, 1907.

JACKSON, SAMUEL MACAULEY, died at Washington, Conn., Friday, August 2, 1912.

KROTEL, GOTTLOB FREDERICK, died in New York City, Friday, May 17, 1907.

LEA, HENRY CHARLES, died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, October 24, 1909.

LEWIS, ABRAM HERBERT, died at Westerly, R. I., Tuesday, November 3, 1908.

NICUM, JOHN, died in Rochester, N. Y., Monday, November 1, 1909.

ROGERS, JAMES WILLIAM, died at Walton, Ky., 1910.

SCOTT, HUGH MCDONALD, killed by street accident in Chicago, Ill., Thursday, April 29, 1909.

SPAETH (PHILIP FRIEDRICH) ADOLPH (THEODOR), died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, June 26, 1910.

TIFFANY, CHARLES COMFORT, died at Northeast Harbor, Me., Tuesday, August 20, 1907.

BOOK TO BE RETURNED

APR 2 4 1972

270.06
A512

American society of church history.
AUTHOR

Papers. 2nd series, v. 3.
TITLE

27083

Date Due | Borrower's Name

APR 2 4 1972

270.06
A512 American society of church history.
Papers. 2nd series, v. 3.

27083